











THE JOURNAL

OF THE

**British**

**Archaeological Association**

ESTABLISHED 1843,

FOR THE

ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES  
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE  
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

---

VOL. XIV.



London :

J. R. SMITH, 36, SOHO SQUARE,

AND

G. WRIGHT & Co., 60, PALL MALL.

---

2 MDCCCLVIII. 2

8331

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British

Archaeological Association

ESTABLISHED 1843,

FOR THE

ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES

INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE

EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

---

1858.

---



London:

J. R. SMITH, 36, SOHO SQUARE,

AND

G. WRIGHT & Co., 60, PALL MALL.

---

MDCCCLVIII.

T. RICHARDS, PRINTER, 37, GREAT QUEEN STREET.





## CONTENTS.

---

	PAGE
On the Antiquities of Norfolk . . . . .	T. J. Pettigrew . 1
On Raoul de Gael, the first Earl of Norfolk . . . . .	J. R. Planché . 30
Notes on Norwich Cathedral . . . . .	H. H. Burnell . 44
On Sacramental Fonts in Norfolk . . . . .	F. C. Husenbeth 51
On the Chancery of Monmouth . . . . .	T. Wakeman . 56
On the Privileges of Sanctuary and Abjuration. . . . .	F. Dwaris . 97
On the Convent of Black Friars, Norwich . . . . .	T. J. Pettigrew . 110
On Caister Camp . . . . .	R. Fitch . 123
Remarks on some Representations of Minstrels in Early Painted Glass . . . . .	} B. Poste . 129
History of Purses . . . . .	H. Syer Cuming 131
On Earthworks and other Ancient Fortifications in the County of Norfolk . . . . .	} G. Vere Irving, 193, 305
On the Walls and Gates of the City of Norwich. . . . .	T. J. Pettigrew . 215
On Caister Castle . . . . .	T. J. Pettigrew . 223
On Ely Cathedral . . . . .	C. E. Davis . 238
Romano-British Antiquities found at Marden . . . . .	B. Poste . 257
On Aglets and Aglet-Hole Piercers . . . . .	H. Syer Cuming 262
On the Antiquities of Cuma . . . . .	T. J. Pettigrew . 292
Notes on the Seals of Endowed Grammar Schools in England and Wales . . . . .	} T. J. Pettigrew . 311
On Celtic and Roman Remains at Battersea . . . . .	H. Syer Cuming 326
On the Reputed Vision of Henry I . . . . .	T. J. Pettigrew . 331

---

Archæological Notices and Antiquarian Intelligence . . . . .	96
Proceedings of the Norfolk Congress . . . . .	61, 145

Proceedings of the Association . . . . .	88, 267, 335
Annual General Meeting, Report of Auditors, Election of Officers and Council, etc. . . . .	177
Donation Fund . . . . .	178
Obituary for 1857 . . . . .	182
Election of Associates 88, 267, 271, 276, 279, 292, 338, 342, 350, 357	
Presents to the Association, 88, 89, 93, 267, 268, 271, 276, 279, 287, 292, 335, 338, 345, 351, 357	
Index . . . . .	360
List of Plates and separate Woodcuts . . . . .	364
Errata and Addenda . . . . .	292, 359



# THE JOURNAL

OF THE

## British Archaeological Association.

---

MARCH 1858.

---

### ON THE ANTIQUITIES OF NORFOLK.

BY T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A., VICE-PRESIDENT AND TREASURER.

IN accordance with our usual practice upon the opening of the annual Congress, I proceed to make a few general remarks on the history and antiquities of the county in which we are assembled, with the view of drawing your attention particularly to those objects which have been specially selected for examination and consideration on this occasion.

The county of Norfolk (computed to be about two hundred and ten miles in circumference) is comprised in thirty-three hundreds, containing upwards of seven hundred parish towns, hamlets, etc. It is sixty-six miles in length from Yarmouth to Wisbeach, and about forty in breadth, taken from Billingham to Wells. Norfolk literally implies *northern folk*, as Suffolk does *southern folk*. Both of these counties, together with a part of Cambridgeshire, constituted the Roman province of the ICENI and the Saxon kingdom of EAST ANGLIA. The principal historian of the county is the rev. Francis Blomefield, who, however, lived not to complete his task.<sup>1</sup> His work is exceedingly valu-

<sup>1</sup> "An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk," continued by Charles Parkin; 5 vols., folio. Blomefield commenced his work in 1736, published the first volume in 1739, and the second in 1745, a portion of which, however, only was executed by him. This publication was printed at his own house, and issued in monthly parts; was continued, by the rev. C. Parkin, from the time of Blomefield's death in 1752; and a third volume was put forth in 1769: but Parkin dying also before the completion of the "History", the manuscripts connected with it passed into the hands of a bookseller at Lynn, and the work was ultimately brought to a conclusion in 1775. A second edition,

able, regarded as a church history; but it must be considered insufficient in other respects. Much, in addition to what he has done (even in relation to ecclesiastical matters) is left to be accomplished; and although a variety of works of, and relating to, the county have since appeared, the history of Norfolk still remains a *desideratum*. The visits of the Archæological Institute and the British Archæological Association will, I trust, add much to the store of information available in the promotion of such an object; and I must not fail to embrace this opportunity to pay my tribute of deserved praise to the Archæological Society of Norfolk and Norwich, whose records, under the title of *Norfolk Archaeology*, already contain much that is important in illustration of the history and antiquities of the county. I should be glad to find so essential an object still more zealously pursued; and as far as the labours of a kindred association can aid in carrying out the views with which the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society has been founded, I can, on the part of the body with which I am officially connected, most freely and unreservedly offer our services to this end and purpose.

Contemporary with Blomefield was Mr. John Kirkpatrick, a merchant of Norwich, justly styled by our associate, Mr. Dawson Turner, "one of the most able, laborious, learned, and useful antiquaries whom the county has produced." He was indefatigable and untiring in his researches, and the results of his labours were bequeathed by him to the corporation of Norwich,—in whose possession, however, at this time no portion of his MSS. is to be found. A considerable volume had fortunately long since been purchased from a bookseller, by the late Mr. Herring, and by the munificence of Mr. Hudson Gurney has been printed, under the editorship of Mr. D. Turner.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Kirkpatrick's life was a short one. He died in 1728, at the age of forty-two; and a tomb erected to his memory may be seen in St. Helen's, Norwich.<sup>2</sup>

in eleven volumes, 4to., and also in 8vo., was published in 1805. "Biographical Memoirs of Blomefield," by S. Wilton Rix, esq., may be found in the "Norfolk Archæology," vol. ii, pp. 201-224.

<sup>1</sup> History of the Religious Orders and Communities, and of the Hospitals and Castles of Norwich, by Mr. John Kirkpatrick, treasurer of the Great Hospital. Written about the year 1725. Yarmouth, 1845; 8vo.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Kirkpatrick was allied to the family of Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, with which also the present empress of France is connected.



The form of the county of Norfolk is that of a wedge; and Camden derives the name Icenî from *iken*, a wedge. Icknield street runs through Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire. From Tacitus<sup>1</sup> we learn of the valour of the people who inhabited this province; and from the same authority we obtain details of their early history. After having submitted to the Romans, they remained peaceable until the reign of Claudius Cæsar, when Ostorius disarmed them, and forced them to rebel. Revolts succeeded, and ultimately the province was bequeathed by the king, Prasutagus, to the emperor Nero: thenceforth it became the prey of the Roman army, accompanied by all the horrors which, perhaps necessarily, attend such conditions. The exploits of the violated queen, Boadicea (the widow of Prasutagus) have formed frequent subjects for historical declamation and attractive illustration. The success of the Icenî, in alliance with the Trinobantes; the immense slaughter of the Romans, and the routing of the ninth legion, under Catus Decianus, are well known to those acquainted with early history; and there are few who have failed to lament over the ultimate defeat of Boadicea, and her subsequent death by poison, referred to the year A.D. 59.

In relation to the early history of the county, we must first make mention of the barrows which have been found at Anmer, Sedgeford, Rudham, Stifkey, Creek, Long Stratton, Wretham, Weeting, etc. The barrows and ancient earthworks are usually found in the open, heathy districts of West Norfolk. In peaty morasses, bordering on Suffolk and Cambridgeshire, among the ruins of forests, which, well stocked with red deer, roes, and boars, once covered those parts, early British weapons, and a few Roman relics, have been found; whilst, as Mr. Greville Chester tells us,<sup>2</sup> the Roman, Saxon, and Danish antiquities are more generally discovered upon the verge of the rivers Yare, Bure, and Waveney. These localities thus afford evidence of the habits and occupations of their ancient inhabitants.

Mr. H. Harrod,<sup>3</sup> an excellent Norfolk antiquary, has made known to us the existence of ancient pits at Weybourne, and has given us a map of the locality, made from

<sup>1</sup> Annal. xii, § 31. "Atque illi conscientia rebellionis, et obseptis effugiis, multa et clara facinora fecere."

<sup>2</sup> Norfolk Archæology, iv, 310.

<sup>3</sup> Norfolk Archæology, iii, 232.

a survey by Mr. Bolding. The pits occupy a district of many miles in extent, and are found in clusters of hundreds and thousands without tradition in regard to them; nor has any information been hitherto obtained satisfactorily to account for them. This applies not only to the county of Norfolk, for we must recollect that our attention was called to some by the rev. Mr. Kell<sup>1</sup> at our Isle of Wight Congress, and it is exceedingly to be desired that further researches should be made in regard to them. No utensils of any kind have been found at Weybourne, nor are traces of fire there apparent. Querns and celts have been reported as having been obtained thence, but there is no satisfactory record regarding these discoveries. In the neighbourhood are tumuli of the Celtic period, whence urns have been taken. Pits of a similar description are also at Aylmerton Heath, Beeston Heath, Edgefield and Marsham. Near Thetford also there are some large ones, one measuring forty-five feet in diameter and being also of a proportionate depth. Mousehold (Monkshold) and Eaton Heath present traces of similar pits; they have also been found at Weeting, near Brandon, and upon examination by the rev. C. R. Manning and others, an opinion has been expressed that they were the remains of a British village, now commonly known as “Grimmers” or “Grimes Graves”.

Among the antiquities which have at various times been discovered in the county, but of which only in recent times accounts have been recorded, will be found those appertaining to successive periods of occupation. They are consequently:

1. CELTIC or ancient British, of which we have urns formed without a lathe, scored with the well-known chevron pattern.<sup>2</sup> Celts in silex and metal; adze heads and mauls in gritstone; spear heads and swords in bronze; torques, armillæ, breast-plates, box, and other ornaments in gold. A large find of British coins in a rude Celtic urn was made at Weston in 1852. They were of silver and nearly three hundred in number, specimens of which are in the British Museum. Among them were two consular denarii, one of the Antonia, the other of the Cassia family, which may serve to denote the time of their deposit. The

<sup>1</sup> Journal, vol. xi, for 1855, p. 305.

<sup>2</sup> Archæologia, xiv, 1.

discovery makes us acquainted with some new types, and confirms the appropriation of British coins of the types found to the Iceni made by numismatists.<sup>1</sup>

2. ROMAN. Figures of Serapis and Cupid in bronze, at Felmingham; Geta and Bacchus at Caistor; fibulæ, bronze and enamelled horse trappings, rings, keys, phalli, Samian pottery, cinerary urns, coins of the reigns of various emperors.<sup>2</sup> A coin of Heraclius and his son, Heraclius Constantinus, set in a gold cross, a specimen of Byzantine art; and another at Bacton, of the emperor Mauricius, in a Saxon ornament, presented by Miss Anna Gurney to the British Museum, and of which accounts were given by that learned lady and Sir H. Ellis in the *Archæologia*, and by Mr. Stevenson in the *Norfolk Archæology*.

3. ROMANO-BRITISH urns at Burgh Castle, at Marsham, and at Saham; also a cup at Rippon Hall.

4. SAXON fibulæ and rings in various parts.

Various examples of these different remains are to be seen in our collections. They will be found enumerated and described in the pages of the *Archæologia*, the *Norfolk Archæology*, the *Journals* of the Archæological Association, Institute, etc.

The extensive occupation of this county by the Romans, the establishment of Thetford as *Sitomagus*; Yarmouth, *Gariononum*; Castor, *Venta Icenorum*; Tasburgh, *Ad Taum*; Brancaster, *Branodunum*; and Ickborough, *Iciani*, justly lead us to expect the discovery of many remains belonging to that people, nor have we been disappointed in that respect. The pages of our *Journal* record numerous discoveries of Roman coins and other antiquities, and how much has been found, yet met with no record in former times! The vicissitudes to which the county has been exposed—its transition from British to Roman—from Roman to Saxon—from Saxon to Danish—and thence to Norman under various circumstances of conquest and spoliation as recorded in history, is confirmed by the discovery of remains belonging to those several times and peoples. Not only can the general outlines of most of the Roman camps be still traced, but also their principal military ways, hence we have the Watling-street, the Icknield-street, Stone-

<sup>1</sup> An account of them, and representations of the most scarce and curious, from the *Numismatic Chronicle*, may be found drawn up by Mr. Goddard Johnson in the *Norfolk Archæology*, iv, 357.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Mr. Johnson and Mr. Fitch's list, v, 203.





street, and the Fosse-way, all indicative of their origin. Minute discrimination is necessary in regard to the assignment of the antiquities discovered. With some persons everything is looked upon and set down as Roman—with others, on the contrary, as Saxon, or as Norman. The distinctive characteristics belonging to those several times are, however, now beginning to be better known, and we trust, therefore, will render us less liable to the censure of possessing “an imagination heated by a warmth of erudition, fondly fostering every appearance bearing a resemblance to antiquity, and claiming indisputable credit from learned disquisitions.”

The characters distinctive of Roman fortifications from those of earlier as well as of later times, are now pretty well established. The employment by the successors of those of their previous occupants have, however, in not a few instances, caused confusion in regard to their nature. The county of Norfolk affords examples of various kinds: those belonging to the Romans, as already mentioned, also examples of the Anglo-Saxons and the Danes, to be met with at Thetford, Yarmouth and other parts.

In the enumeration I have made of the Roman stations in the county of Norfolk, I have mentioned *VENTA ICENORUM* as having belonged to Castor or Caistor. On this point, however, we now possess more accurate knowledge, and I do not hesitate to express my concurrence in the assignment of this station to Norwich. For this correction we are indebted to the erudite sagacity of colonel Leake and Mr. Hudson Gurney. I cannot make mention of the names of those two distinguished friends, without paying my tribute of regard to their varied and extensive knowledge. Nor can I forbear to announce with pride and satisfaction the zeal still entertained by him who bears that most respected name of Gurney in this county, for the advancement of all that is calculated to throw light upon the antiquities of his native place. With a generosity coequal with the value and utility of the objects to which it is applied, Mr. Gurney has issued some interesting researches on this subject; for the information of those who feel an interest in such inquiries, a contribution which will, I doubt not, be duly appreciated by all who have the good fortune to partake of this instance of his liberality and zeal for the promotion of archæological research.



Under the Saxon heptarchy the East Angles was established by Uffa in A.D. 575. I abstain from wearying you with an enumeration even of the names of the several kings or rulers from this period to that of St. Edmund, so celebrated by his refusal to abjure Christianity, and by his defeat and death in 870 by the Danes, who in the ninth century overrun the kingdom.

Our attention is here essentially directed to numismatics, to ascertain how far the discoveries in that branch of science in modern times have served to illustrate the records of history. From early chroniclers we learn that Alfred having subdued the Danes, erected strong castles and forts both of brick and stone in various parts. He is reputed to have improved the fortifications of Norwich castle, which, if admitted, would give to it an early date; and a coin has been found, it is supposed of A.D. 872, having the head of Alfred on the obverse, round which is ÆLFRED REX, and on the reverse NORDWIL. Of his successor in A.D. 901, Edward the elder, no coin is known; but of his son Æthelstan who subdued the Danes and for a time totally expelled them, and greatly improved Norwich, there is a coin attributed to A.D. 925, which was struck at Norwich, having on the obverse his head and name ÆTHELSTAN, and on the reverse a cross round which is BARBE MONETARIUS DE NORDWIL. One of Edmund is also known, with the name of Eadgar as the mint master, and also of Eadred, the mint master's name on the reverse being HAUNE; this is assigned to A.D. 946.<sup>1</sup> There is also a coin of Edward the Martyr in A.D. 973, the mint master being LEOFWINE. Coins of Ethelred have also been found. It was under this sovereign that a massacre of the Danes took place on St. Brice's day, November 13, 1002. This carnage was revenged by Sweyn the Dane,

<sup>1</sup> Eadred reigned from A.D. 946 to 955. There is an example of his coinage in the British Museum, and represented in Hawkins' *Silver Coins of England*, plate xv, No. 194. This numismatist says (p. 64) that Norwich is the only ascertained mint of Eadred's coins. Ruding (*Annals of the Coinage of Britain*, vol. iv, p. 334) acquaints us that, according to Domesday Book, in the reign of the Conqueror, the bishop of Norwich had the privilege of one moneyer in that city, if he thought proper. He adds, "it is not, however, known that he ever exercised it." At Thetford there was a mint, and the earliest coin issuing from it is assigned to the reign of Eadgar. Here also Edward the Martyr, Ethelred II, Edward the Confessor, Cnut or Canute, Harold I and II, also coined. Thetford paid to William I the sum of £40 for the mint; and during his reign, Turston, or Thurston, of Thetford, and Ralf, his son, were the mint masters. Coins issuing from Thetford are known of the reign of William I and II. Henry I, Stephen, and Henry II.

who in the following year rased Exeter to the ground, besides committing other awful ravages. These bear sad reference to the city of Norwich, which he entirely burnt and wasted. Hence arose the present city. In 1010, the Danes made a settlement here; in 1011, subdued the East Angles, and at this time they may be presumed to have refortified the castle, the fortifications of which have been found to correspond with their practice, being rotund, as was also that at Thetford of Danish occupation. Norfolk was retained by Sweyn to the time of his death in 1014, and he was succeeded by Canute who was driven out by Etheldred, who had retired to Normandy. Turkil, or Turketil, a Danish earl, held possession of all Norfolk under Sweyn, and was permitted by Etheldred to continue governor of the East Angles, and intrusted with the fleet consisting of forty ships. With these he treacherously proceeded to Denmark and successfully urged Canute to return, who, with one hundred and sixty vessels, landed at Sandwich in 1016. During the period of occupation from 1010, Norwich had been increasing, and the number of Danes was considerable. This appears from the survey made by Edward the Confessor. For the particulars of Norfolk under the Conqueror, I must refer you to Domesday book, and various historians; it being sufficient for my present purpose to state, that upon the conquest of England by William of Normandy, various manors in Norfolk were given to Hugh de Arbrances, Odo, bishop of Bayeux, Alan Rufus, Walter Giffard, Ralph Guader, William de Warrene, Hugh de Gournay, Eudo de Rhye, William de Albini, Humphrey de Bohun, and some other of his followers. Under the heptarchy, the government of the county was intrusted to the earls and dukes of Norfolk.

The natural productions of the county have been frequently subjects of admiration. Fuller<sup>1</sup> says, "all England may be carried out of Norfolk, represented therein, not only to the kind but degree thereof." It is, however, to its history and antiquities that our attention is now to be directed and limited, and as it is in our power to visit only a few places during the short period allotted to our Congress, I must confine myself more particularly to the consideration of such objects as have been selected to engage our attention. The city claims our earliest notice,

<sup>1</sup> Worthies of England, art., "Norfolk".

and this presents to us a rich field for investigation, civil and ecclesiastical.

First, of the CASTLE.—Alexander Nevill<sup>1</sup> ascribes the original foundation of Norwich castle to Gurguntus, the son of Belinus, twenty-fourth king of Britain from Brutus, to whom he attributes the defeat and slaughter of Guthlac king of Denmark. Having observed a spot in the eastern part of Britain fitted for the building of a fortress, he made selection of it, then founded a castle in a square form, of a white stone, and at the top of a hill near to the river. This is said to have been called after him, *Caer* or *Kaier Guntum*; but he is reported to have died before the completion of the work. He was succeeded by Guthelinus, who continued the building, fortified it with a wall, bank and double ditches, one of which encircled the bottom of the hill, whilst the other was drawn before the gate and bridge of the castle, and so directed as to constitute a semicircle, the ends of which extended to near the diameter of the inward ditch. Subterraneous vaults are also attributed to Guthelin. Julius Cæsar, according to tradition, erected many buildings about the castle. This is all we have in regard to the earliest structure, the accuracy of which I presume not to determine.

During the Saxon heptarchy, Uffa, first king of East Anglia, in A.D. 575, is recorded to have established a fortification of earth, which has been conjectured to have been on the site of the castle. In 642, it was a royal castle of Anna, the seventh king of East Anglia. Alfred, in 872, is named as the first to erect a brick and stone castle at Norwich, which was destroyed by Sweyn in 1013, but rebuilt by Canute, who reigned in 1017. King<sup>2</sup> pronounced the building of the castle to be Saxon, whilst he regarded the tower as having been built by Canute. He says there is no account extant of the destruction of Canute's castle. Sir Henry Spelman<sup>3</sup> gives to the castle a greater antiquity than the city of Norwich, and from the circular form, compass and depth of the ditch, considers it to be the work of the Danes, and the tower that of the Normans; and he refers to a charter of Henry I, reliev-

<sup>1</sup> Angli Norvicius, 1575, 4to. Printed at the end of his work, *De Furoribus Norfolciensium Ketto Duce*.

<sup>2</sup> Archæologia, vol. iv, p. 397.

<sup>3</sup> Icenia, sive Norfolciæ Descriptio Topographica, printed in the author's *Reliquiæ*, Oxford, 1698 and 1727, folio.



ing the abbey of Ely, *de jure servitutis et custodia quam castello Norwici debebat*, from the yoke of servitude and the warding due from that church to the castle. That a castle was built at Norwich before the coming of the Normans is unquestionably proved by Domesday, in which we read "there were eighty-one mansions empty in the occupation of the castle." In the time of the Conqueror we arrive at more certain evidence in regard to the castle. William of Poitou, and Ordericus Vitalis, both state that the Conqueror built a strong castle in the noble and opulent city of Gwenta,<sup>1</sup> and left William Fitz-Osbern in charge of it, making him at the same time vicegerent of the whole kingdom towards the north. Raoul de Gael, otherwise Ralph Guader, earl of the East Angles, son-in-law of Fitz-Osbern, took possession of it in 1074, when he rebelled against the king. Upon his flight, the castle was defended by the garrison, and surrendered upon a good capitulation. After Ralph Guader, Hubert, second son of Hubert de Rya, was made constable by the Conqueror. In the confederacy of the barons against William Rufus, in 1087, Roger Bigot, or Bigod, seized the castle and committed other acts of violence. Hugh Bigod also made seizure of it upon a report of the death of king Stephen, in 1136; but it was surrendered to the king in person, who then gave it to his son William, earl of Moreton, but he was dispossessed of it by Henry II, in 1155.

Kirkpatrick thinks Norwich castle was first converted into a gaol in the 4th Henry III (1219); for in the sixth year of this reign the king appointed a baron of the exchequer and the remembrancer, to account with Philip Marmion for the charges of repairing and victualling the castle of Norwich. Later in this reign (the 48th year), it held some state prisoners, and John de Vallibus at this time was constable. It held state prisoners also in the 2nd of Edward II, and in the 15th of his reign was additionally fortified. In the 45th Edward III, it was much out of repair, and a representation of its condition was made to the king; so that it is clear the castle of Norwich was a *royal castle*. Kirkpatrick gives a particular account of the castle-guard services which were paid to this castle.<sup>2</sup> They were derived from the bishop of Norwich,

<sup>1</sup> Gwenta and Venta are synonymous.

<sup>2</sup> See *Notes concerning Norwich Castle*, pp. 26-70; reprinted, by the liberality of Mr. Gurney, for the Congress.



knight's fees, abbey of Bury, knights of St. Edmund, monastery of Ely, and abbey of St. Bennet in the Hulm, or Holm. Within the liberty of the castle, franchises were enjoyed by the inhabitants in ancient times. There were also ecclesiastical immunities of the fee, and probates of wills were made before the constable. Mr. Kirkpatrick gives a list of the wardens and constables from the time of Henry III, to that of James I.<sup>1</sup>

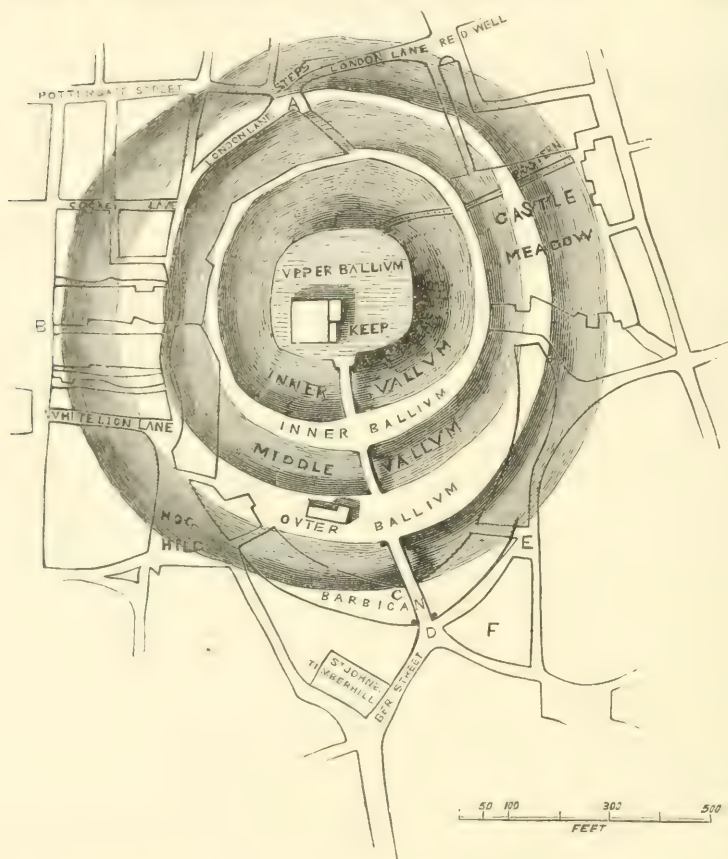
The government of the city was severed from that of the castle some time in the reign of Henry I. Records are unfortunately wanting, to elucidate this part of the history of Norwich. During the reign of Stephen, an attempt was made to obtain a charter, vesting the government of the city in coroners and bailiffs instead of provosts; but the king seized the castle and all the liberties of the city into his own hands, and soon after gave the town and borough of the city of Norwich to his natural son William, as I have already stated, adding also to his revenue the whole of the royal revenue of the county, with a particular exception also to the earl Hugh Bigod, of the third penny of the customs. The citizens at length succeeded in obtaining a regrant of their liberties. Dissatisfaction on the part of Hugh Bigod having arisen from being deprived of the castle, he declared for the empress Maud, commotions were excited, and the liberties again seized by the king; but, upon the submission of Bigod and his return to his allegiance, they were again restored and a new charter given to them. I will not attempt to trace the course of events, in relation to this city, further, in this place, as they will necessarily form subjects of consideration in various ways, during our Congress, and we shall have the opportunity of inspecting the various charters of the city. The civil privileges of the tenants of the castle fee were diminished and brought under the jurisdiction of the city according to a judgment, 21st Henry III, as proved by a writ of Edward I. to the sheriff of Norfolk, cited by Mr. Kirkpatrick (p. 85.)

Thus far, with regard to the history of the castle; let us now say a few words descriptive of it:—

The castle is situated on the bend of the Wensum, and has been described as surrounded by three ditches, which have been regarded as indicative of its British origin.

<sup>1</sup> Notes concerning Norwich Castle, pp. 105-113.

Gurdon,<sup>1</sup> King,<sup>2</sup> Wilkins,<sup>3</sup> Taylor and Woodward<sup>4</sup> have pronounced the castle to be Saxon. Mr. Henry Harrod,<sup>5</sup> the latest writer on the subject, declares the remains to be of Norman character, and conceives the preceding authorities to have been misled by Blomefield. The earth-works, he considers, show an earlier period; an opinion



Mr. Wilkins plan, reduced from that drawn by him for the *Archæologia*, 1795.

we shall find supported by documentary evidence, by charges on lands granted to the monastery at Ely, in A.D. 677, for the castle. The statement of Wilkins and others,

<sup>1</sup> An Essay on the Antiquity of the Castel of Norwich, its Founder and Governors, from the Kings of the East Angles down to Modern Times. Norwich, 1728. 8vo. Reprinted by Mr. Gurney for the Congress.

<sup>2</sup> *Archæologia*, iv. 397.

<sup>4</sup> History and Antiquities of Norwich Castle, 1847, 4to.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. xii.

<sup>5</sup> Gleanings among the Castles and Convents of Norfolk. Norwich, 1857, p. 125.

is uniformly that there were three ditches. Mr. Harrod, on the contrary, asserts that there never was but one, and that the assumption of remains or traces of the others, is entirely fallacious. He says there is the castle hill and a single ditch surrounding it, crossed by a bridge on the south. The only Norman fragments remaining at the pre-



Mr. Harrod's plan of restoration of earthworks, made in 1853.

sent time are the bases of two towers, one on each side of the top of the bridge, the arch of the bridge and the great tower. The castle has unfortunately been ruined by the restorations, as they have been called; the exterior has been entirely refaced, and reported to have been done stone for stone. To show how little reliance can be placed on this statement, Mr. Harrod affirms that the basement was



before of rubble, and that it is now of freestone. Its interior apartments have been swept away, and little remains to show its former condition. The span of the bridge is, however, as originally.

Mr. Woodward has given very interesting views of the grand entrance to the castle, of the oratory, its altar and sculptured stones. The castle is flanked by shallow buttresses, and divided into compartments by horizontal string-courses, corresponding with the variations in the level of the interior floors. On the south side there are five buttresses, and four compartments and five stories. The *first*, or basement story, is plain; in Mr. Woodward's time it was faced with common flint work. In the inside of each of the panels is a loop with a false arch over, constituting a series of arcades of a Norman character. The two eastern admitted light into the dungeon. The *second* story is ornamented with capitals and dog-tooth moulded arches; the string-course on the east forming the base of the chapel and oratory. The *third* story is irregular, and the arches are plain; on the string-courses of the east are loops giving light to the chapel. The *fourth* story has six ornamented arches, with corresponding columns in each compartment. In the *fifth* and last story there are also six arches in the two outer compartments, and seven in the inner, all plain. As on the south, so on the west there are five buttresses, but only four stories. The two middle compartments of the basement have two large arched recesses. The north side has six buttresses. The entrance to the tower was from the east, and called by Wilkins Bigod's tower.<sup>1</sup> The platform was accessible by an ascent of twenty-eight steps. The arch under this, the principal entrance, is lofty, with interesting groins of hanging billet moulding. It is a specimen of Early Norman. Mr. Harrod disagrees with Mr. Woodward as to his assignment of some of the figures ornamenting this door.

As Mr. Robert Fitch will kindly conduct us over this building, and as he is much better acquainted with its intricacies than I can pretend to be, I shall dwell no longer on this subject.

The charters of the CITY OF NORWICH date from the reign of Henry I. This was, however, annulled, but re-

<sup>1</sup> Archæologia, vol. xii, p. 154, plate xxvi.



newed by Stephen, who first made it a corporation and granted it to his son. Henry II gave a confirmatory charter, the original of which is preserved at the Guildhall. He, however, took the city from William earl of Moreton, natural son of Stephen. Then followed the charters of Richard I, John, Henry III, and Henry IV, the original of which is lost; but it has been printed,<sup>1</sup> and according to which the administration of the civil government is entrusted to a mayor and twenty-three other aldermen, two sheriffs, a recorder, a steward, and common councilmen, which by former charters are sixty in number. It was by this sovereign that Norwich was made a county by itself. It had a stone flint wall nearly three miles in compass, and furnished with forty towers; some portions of this wall are still to be seen. There were also twelve gates and six bridges. These will form subjects of distinct consideration.

MERCHANTS' MARKS are of very frequent occurrence in Norwich. In a walk through a portion of the city, in which I had the advantage to be accompanied by Mr. Fitch and Mr. Ewing, I was surprised by their number. Their importance in fixing the residence of those who in former times had inhabited the houses on which they appear, was made known to me by the latter gentleman in particular, whose labours in regard to those insignia have been minute, and published in the *Norfolk Archæology*<sup>2</sup> and also by C. Muskett.<sup>3</sup> These notices of the merchants' marks are not limited to the examples carved in the city of Norwich; but extend also to those which appear on the seals attached to the deeds preserved at the Guildhall. During four centuries they appear to have been chiefly employed, namely, from 1300 to 1600. Shopkeepers in general used them; they were not confined to merchants, and are to be seen depicted on painted glass, put up to acknowledge gifts or services rendered by those to whom they relate. The insertion of the merchants' mark in the coat of arms is of very common occurrence. Their great number at Norwich is probably to be accounted for by its being one of the staple towns.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Topographical and Historical Account of the City and County of Norwich. 1819; 8vo. Appendix, 1832; 8vo. See p. 24 et seq.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. iv, pp. 177-228.

<sup>3</sup> Norwich, 1850, 8vo.

<sup>4</sup> The late Samuel Woodward, a good local antiquary, commenced making a

THE STAPLE OR ESTAPLE TOWNS were Newcastle upon Tyne, York, Lincoln, Norwich, Westminster, Canterbury, Chichester, Exeter, Bristol, Hull, Boston, Queenborough, Southampton and Yarmouth, the seal of the staple of which, made in 1369, has continued to be used to the present day on the burgess's letters. *Estaple* signifies mart or market, and *stapel*, in Saxon, is the stay or hold of a thing. The goods were compelled to be brought to the staple towns for sale or exportation, to be weighed, measured, etc., and made chargeable to the customs. The merchants of the staple were incorporated in the reign of Edward II; abolished by Edward III in 1328; re-established by him in 1332; fixing it at York in 1334; at Bruges in 1341; and at Calais in 1348. In 1353 (27 Edw. III) it was once more removed to this county, and was at the places as I

collection of merchants' marks in 1824, at which time he was ignorant of Mackerell's collection, in the possession of Hudson Gurney, esq. Our late respected associate, Michael Bland, esq., acquainted Mr. Woodward, in 1825, that forty years ago a collection had been made by Mr. Satchey, a German residing at Norwich, which was given to Mr. Bland's father, who was a frequent contributor to the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Mr. Woodward's collection was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries by the late Thomas Amyot, esq., December 8, 1825, accompanied by a letter from Mr. Woodward. The collection is now in Mr. Gurney's possession, and from his manuscript volume I have extracted the following passage:

"The marks under notice were used by merchants to distinguish their goods, the one from the others, being placed on their packages, which practice is still continued by those merchants trading with the Continent. They were probably introduced by the Flemings, who necessarily imposed a mark on each merchant to whom they sent goods; which mark, in process of time, became a badge or cognizance which was generally known. Their moveable utensils, etc., in trade were marked or branded with it. My friend, Mr. W. C. Ewing, of Cringleford, informs me that there was a brand mark on the chimney beam of a house in his village, done probably as a trial of the degree of heat of the iron. The same gentleman has furnished me with a mark, or a lead weight. I have also met with two seals having merchants' marks thereon. Their houses and doorways were also ornamented with them, serving as a sign or show-board, generally accompanied by the arms of their company or trade; and lastly, their funeral monuments, where they are also blazoned with their arms, etc.

"The marks appear to me to be composed of certain mathematical figures, as the circle, square, triangle, semicircle, cross, angle, and parallel. It would, I conceive, be desirable to enquire whether there were any rules for arranging these figures, or any meaning attached to them when arranged, or whether the arrangement depended on the whim or caprice of the bearer?

"The marks which I have identified almost exclusively belong to chief magistrates. Blomefield enumerates several alike circumstanced, which are now lost, from which it would appear that merchants were chiefly advanced to the magisterial dignity."

In Norwich the earliest traced by Mr. Woodward belonged to the Sothertons, and is of the commencement of the fifteenth century. There are, however, some of earlier date in Mackerell's collections. Woodward's collection amounts to fifty in number.

have stated. It had been at Antwerp in 1313, and Cardiff was an early place of staple.

Magistrates were accustomed to have carved and ornamented posts placed at their gateways; many of these were at Norwich, but none are remaining there at this day. In a manuscript history of Norwich by Mr. Mackereil, in the possession of Hudson Gurney, esq., written in 1737, it is said: "Edward, the husband of Izod Rede, was mayor of this city a<sup>o</sup> 1521, and lived where the Three Tuns tavern now is, whose arms are in brass on her gravestone, and are the same to those which still remain at the gate, it being the custom at that time, whenever persons were chosen magistrates, to have posts set down at their doors. They who bore arms had them carved thereon; others had the king's, St. George's, or the city arms, painted; or the arms of the trade of which they were members, many of which remain in all parts of this city even to this day, though this custom has been long since disused." Mr. Mackerell gives a representation of four, but they, together with others, have disappeared.

Our associate and excellent antiquary, Mr. John Adey Repton, in the *Archæologia* (vol. xix, p. 383), has given drawings illustrative of the magistrates' posts at Elm Hill, near the Tombland, Norwich. One of these is of the time of Henry VIII, and was covered with red paint;<sup>1</sup> another had the letters T. P., the initials of Thomas Pettys, mayor of Norwich in 1592. Mr. Repton has referred to passages in which the practice is alluded to. Thus, in "Lingua", 1607, *Communis Sensus* says,—“Knowes he how to become a scarlet gowne? hath he *a paire of fresh posts* at his door?” And the widow of Beaumont and Fletcher observes,—“A pair of such brothers were fitter for posts without door; indeed, to make a show at a new chosen magistrate's gate,” etc. Decker has “*the posts of his gate are a painting, too.*” And Rowley, in 1632,—

“If e'er I live to see thee sheriff of London,  
I'll gild thy posts.”

GUILDS were associations to advance trade, diffuse cha-

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Edward Blakely, of Earlham-road, Norwich, has kindly informed me that he is in possession of the posts here referred to, and that he recollects them placed on each side of a gateway nearly at the bottom of Elm Hill, and almost opposite those of Pettus, which appeared to be of a more recent construction.



city, and promote religion. They date from Saxon times, but prevailed chiefly in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Norwich had many;<sup>1</sup> but Yarmouth could boast, perhaps, the greatest number, and they were named the guilds of the Holy Trinity, St. George, the Browne Rood, St. Crispin and Christiana, St. Christopher, St. Erasmus, our Lord's Ascension, Holy Cross, St. John, Lesser Guild of the Holy Trinity, St. John the Baptist, St. Margaret, St. Mary de le Pere, St. Mary, St. Nicholas, the Holy Ghost, St. Peter, our Lady of St. Nicholas, St. Mary de West Town. The chapels of most of these were in St. Nicholas church. All, with the exception of the Merchants' Guild, were dissolved in 1545. Mr. Palmer<sup>2</sup> has given many interesting particulars of these guilds, and the property possessed by them at the time of their dissolution.

I have given the time of Edward II as the period of incorporation of the Merchants of the Staple. The guild of St. George at Norwich dates also from this period. The Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society have printed an account of this company from the manuscript history by Mackerell to which I have referred. The fraternity dates 1324 (18 Edward II), and was instituted in "the cathedrale chirche afor the heie awter, afor the Trinitie on the south syde in Norwych." They wore a particular dress, red gowns and hoods, which the members were forbidden to dispose of in any way under a prescribed penalty. On the election of a new mayor, St. George's guild of Norwich always walked in procession and gave a large dinner. In the procession appeared a dragon, without which St. George, literally, would be an uninteresting personage; and it is preserved to this day, being probably the only relic remaining of the ancient custom, and is now safely ensconced in the Guildhall and well known by the name of Snap. It is made of wicker work, so contrived as to spread or close its wings, distend or contract its head, and is covered over with painted cloth. A man within it used to walk in the procession.<sup>3</sup> In 1408 it was agreed to furnish priests with copes, and the George was

<sup>1</sup> At the time of the reformation, according to the *Index Monasticus*, Norfolk numbered no less than nine hundred and nine of these fraternities.

<sup>2</sup> Notes to Manslip's *History of Great Yarmouth*, p. 241 et seq.

<sup>3</sup> It has been engraved by Muskett in his series of antiquities relating to Norwich.



directed to go in procession and make a conflict with the dragon. I must now pass on to the ecclesiastical division of our subject.

The East Angles were converted to Christianity about A.D. 630, by the exertions of St. Felix, a Burgundian priest, who came over to this country tendering his services to Honorius archbishop of Canterbury, by whom he was sent into East Anglia, and established his episcopal see at Dunwich in 632. The late Mr. John Mitchell Kemble<sup>1</sup> states that, from the time of Felix, we hear of no more paganism or apostasy among the East Anglians; and it must be recorded that he presided over the see during a period of seventeen years.

The monasteries and religious houses in Norfolk were very numerous, a list of them at the time of the dissolution may be found in Tanner's *Notitia Monastica* and Taylor's *Index Monasticus*. In Norwich alone were: 1, The cathedral or convent; 2, St. Mary; 3, St. Francis; 4, St. Dominic; 5, St. Augustin; 6, St. Giles; 7, St. Paul. In Thetford they were not less numerous: 1, House of Friars; 2, Monastery of Augustin Friars; 3, St. Sepulchre; 4, Priory of St. Mary and St. John; 5, St. Gregory; 6, St. Andrew; 7, St. Mary; 8, St. Mary Magdalen. Yarmouth had also: 1, A cell to Norwich; 2, St. Mary; 3, St. Dominic; 4, St. Francis. No less than seventy-seven religious houses were dissolved by Henry VIII in the county of Norfolk. Many others, under the denomination of alien priories and hospitals, were also dissolved. A history of the pilgrimages made to our Lady at Walsingham, our Lady at Reepham, our Lady of Pity at Horstead, to St. John's Head of Trimmingham, and many others I could enumerate, would not be uninteresting. Of monastic orders, clerical, military, and conventual, including colleges, hospitals, leper houses, etc., there were in Norfolk belonging to the diocese of Norwich no less than 153, and of hermitages, chantries, free chapels, guilds, shrines, and places of pilgrimage 1202, making altogether 1355 houses, and, according to the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, the valuation of the former 153 being £6,293:11:2 $\frac{3}{4}$ . There were Benedictine or Black Monks and Nuns; Cistercian

<sup>1</sup> Notes respecting the bishops of East Anglia, in Norwich volume of the Archaeological Institute, p. 34.

or White Monks and Nuns; Cluniac Monks; and nuns of the order of St. Fontevrault. Of the Clerical, Regular Canons of the Holy Sepulchre or Cross; of St. Augustine, Premonstratensian and Gilbertine Canons and Nuns. Of military there were the Knights Templars and Hospitallers, Sister Hospitallers of St. John, the Holy Trinity, etc. The conventual were Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, eremites, pied friars, nuns minoresses, etc. Some of the conventual and collegiate churches belonging to these are still in use, as at Norwich, Attleborough, Wymondham, Lynn, etc., and will form subjects for our examination during the Congress.

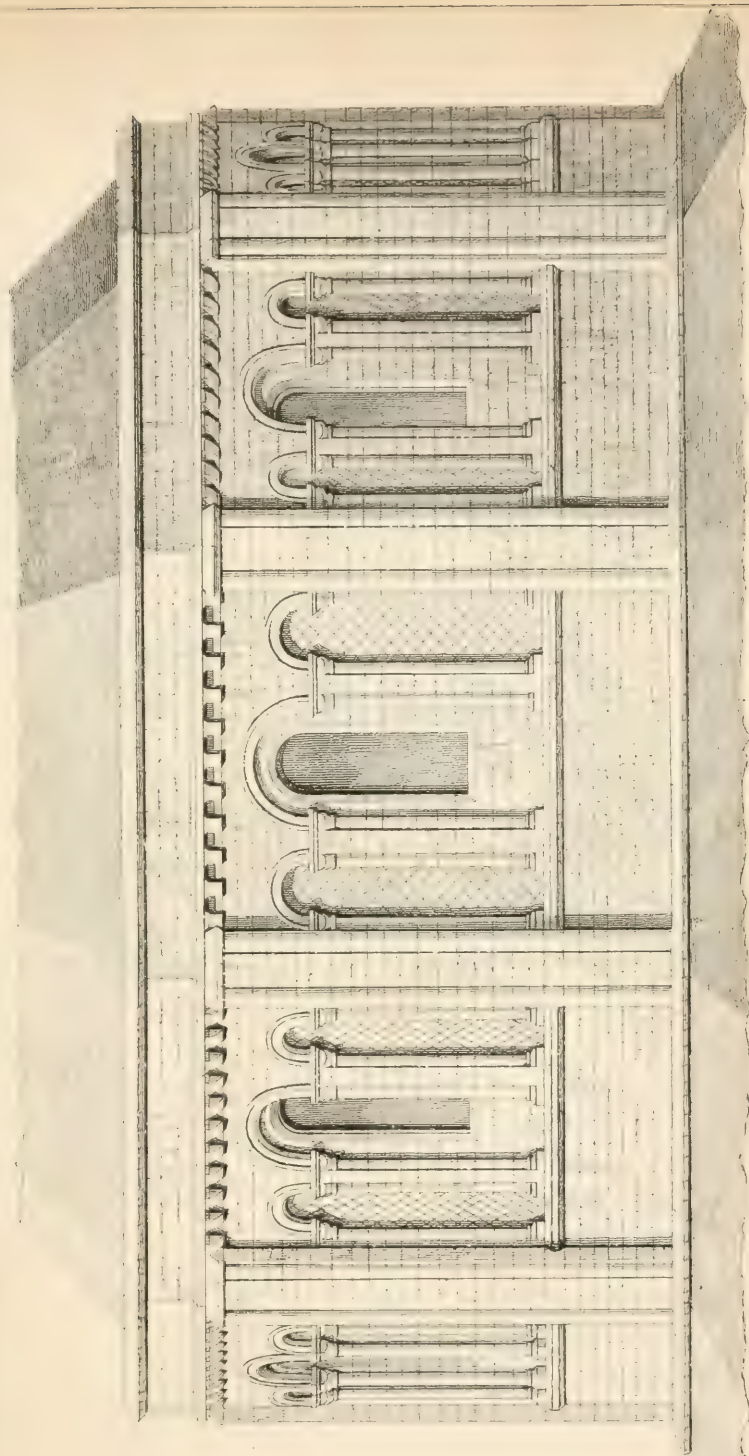
The history of the Black Friars I reserve until we assemble in St. Andrew's hall, and pass on to notice the cathedral priory, upon which my remarks will necessarily be brief, as we shall have the advantage of Mr. Bunnell's more precise information on the subject.

THE NORWICH CATHEDRAL PRIORY may be characterized as mostly Norman, having a long nave, choir with semicircular east end, transept, dormitory, refectory, and strangers' hall. A small portion only will be found to belong to the Early English period, and in this style will be found a portion of the strangers' hall. The chapter house, cloisters and cellar belong to the Decorated period, and examples of the Perpendicular may be seen in portions of the choir, which also characterize a part of the cloisters.

Of the lady chapel, built by Walter de Suffield in 1265, the foundations only can now be traced. Mr. Harrod has marked them in his plan of the cathedral.<sup>1</sup> They were discovered little more than a year ago in the course of some drainage being made in the garden at the east end of the cathedral. The lady chapel was destroyed by dean Gardiner.<sup>2</sup> By the kindness of Mr. Repton I am enabled to present illustrations of windows and roof of the choir, and a tier of square windows, of much beauty, beneath the flying buttresses. These are given from drawings made in 1795. Plate 1 represents the original work of bishop Herbert de Losinga, of the upper part of the choir before

<sup>1</sup> Harrod's Gleanings.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* p. 303. Britton, in his account of Norwich cathedral, has given, in plate xi. a good view of the lady chapel.

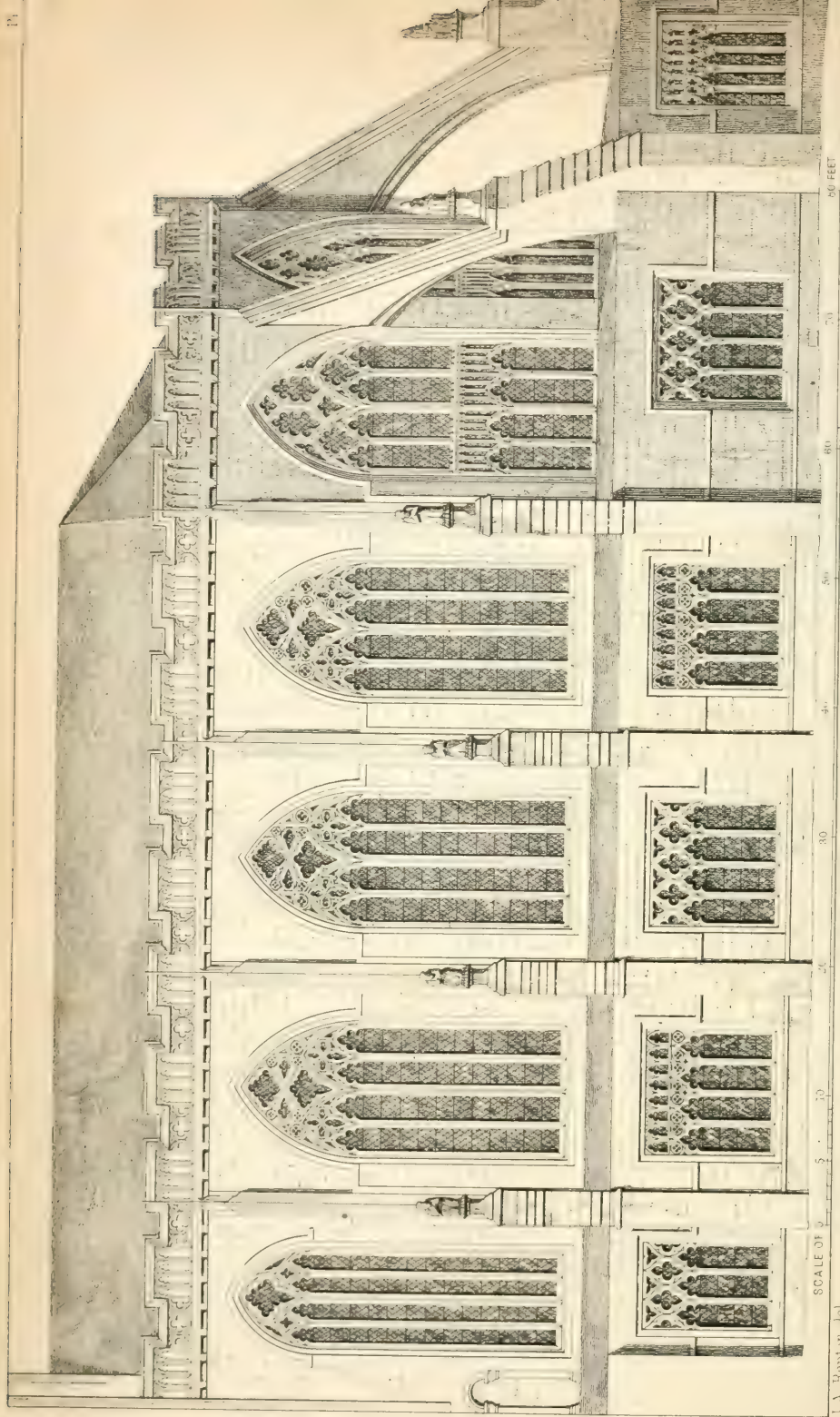


THE UPPER PART OF THE CHOIR OF NORWICH CATHEDRAL.  
As built by Bishop Herbert de Losinga.









it was altered by bishop Goldwell in the reign of Henry VII. Plate 2 represents a portion of the choir exhibiting a series of decorated windows filled with excellent geometrical tracery, beneath which are square-headed windows of good character, the proportions given with great correctness, not to be found in various representations that have been heretofore published.

The first stone of the cathedral church of the Holy Trinity was laid by Herbert de Losinga in 1096. Sixty monks were therein placed and in the adjoining priory in 1101, at which time the deed of foundation was sealed. They were Benedictines. Mr. Henry Harrod<sup>1</sup> esteems the church of Herbert to have been built on the site of a more ancient one, dedicated also to the Holy Trinity. It appears, however, that the cathedral church was commonly called Christ's church, and early references are made to it by Sifled,<sup>2</sup> and by the chronicler Ingulphus, under date of 1076.<sup>3</sup> It is curious, that whilst in the wills of the upper classes it is styled church of the Holy Trinity, in those of a more humble description it is called Christ church. Of these peculiarities, Mr. Harrod has cited several examples.<sup>4</sup> Mr. Spurdens<sup>5</sup> has endeavoured to prove Herbert to have been an Englishman, not a Norman, as generally supposed; that he was born at Syleham, in the hundred of Hoxne, in Suffolk,<sup>6</sup> and that the appendage de Losinga,<sup>7</sup> almost uniformly attached to his name, must have been a nick-name given to him by his detractors after his decease. The cathedral was damaged by fire as early as 1171; a century later, it was again ravaged by that element. Two conflicting accounts have been given of this event, one taken from the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, of the corporation of London,<sup>8</sup> the other from the Cotton

<sup>1</sup> Gleanings, etc., p. 235.

<sup>2</sup> Kemble in *Cod. Diplom. Ævi Saxon.*, iv, 282, circa 1050.

<sup>3</sup> P. 153 (Bohn's edition) in *Antiquarian Library*. Lond., 1854; 12mo.

<sup>4</sup> See notes to *Gleanings*, etc., p. 236.

<sup>5</sup> *Norfolk Archæology*, vol. iii, p. 145.

<sup>6</sup> In *Pago Oxunensi in Sudvolgiâ natus*. *Bale*.

<sup>7</sup> From the French *losonge*, adulation, flattery, etc. William of Malmesbury, in his *Chronicle*, book iv, chap. 1, says, "Herbert, from his skill in adulation, surnamed Losinga." The chronicler speaks of him in no measured terms of abuse. He was, however, rich and powerful, and filled the office of lord high chancellor of England. He was the first bishop of Norwich, having removed the see from Thetford. The bishop of Norwich is the only abbot in England, and he sits in the house of peers as abbot of Holme.

<sup>8</sup> P. 145, Stapleton's edition, published by the Camden Society, 1846.

MS.;<sup>1</sup> the former being the version derivable from the corporation of Norwich, the latter from the monkish history. At the visit of the Archæological Institute in 1847, Professor Willis directed his attention minutely to those events, as affording reliable evidence of the several periods of the erection of different portions of the cathedral; and it is much to be lamented that his discourse on this occasion has not, hitherto, been published. The time prescribed, before publication, by Horace to all judicious writers having elapsed, we may venture to hope that the promised work may soon see the light.

Two gates give entrance to the precinct; the upper, ST. ETHELBERT'S gate, built by the citizens after the fire of 1272; the lower, known as ERPINGHAM gate.<sup>2</sup> Upon this the word *Pena*, has been often recorded to be inscribed, and the building of the gate is commonly said to have been erected as a penance, or punishment, awarded to Sir Thomas Erpingham for his supposed Lollardy. The word, however, is not *Pena*, but *Yenk*, and means *Think*; it is, in short, Sir Thomas's motto, BEWARE. With regard to the time of its erection, Mr. Harrod justly infers, that it must have been subsequent to 1411, as the arms of his two wives occur upon it, and he did not marry Joan Walton until this year. His first wife was Joan Clopton. He died in 1428, and together with his wives was interred in the north aisle of the choir, but his tomb has been destroyed.

The fine stone vaulting in the nave is attributed to bishop Lyhart, whose rebus frequently occurs. He was bishop between 1426 and 1436. The bosses of the roof and the cloister formerly presented an immense number of historical figures, amounting (according to Philip Browne)<sup>3</sup> to three hundred and twenty-eight in number, curiously carved. The series extended in subjects from the creation to the last day of judgment. The painting and gilding of these have been entirely removed by a coating of stone-coloured wash, with which it was disfigured in 1806.

<sup>1</sup> In Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. p. 400; Barth. de Cotton, *Annales Ecclesie Norwicensis ab anno 1042 ad 1295*.

<sup>2</sup> These have been so repeatedly drawn and engraved that illustrations of them would be superfluous.

<sup>3</sup> *Account and Description of the Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity, Norwich*. Norwich, 1807; 2nd edition.



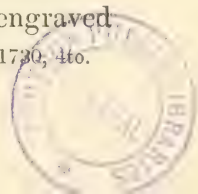
A circular opening, between the west door and screen, of considerable size, has often been a subject of conjecture and discussion. Mr. Harrod has attempted to solve the question, by reference to an extract from *Warton's History of English Poetry*,<sup>1</sup> taken from *Lambarde's Topographical Dictionary*. It runs thus:—"I myself, being a child, once saw in Poule's church at London, at a feast of Whitsuntide, wheare the comyng down of the Holy Gost was set forth by a white pigeon, that was let to fly out of a hole that is yet to be seen in the mydst of the roof of the great ile, and by a long censer which, descending out of the same place almost to the very ground, was swinged up and down at such length, that it reached at one swepe almost to the west gate of the church, and with the other to the queer stairs of the same, breathing out over the whole church and companie a most pleasant perfume of such sweet things as burned therein."<sup>2</sup> Mr. Harrod has observed in a very casual peep at the sacrist rolls at Norwich, charges made for letting a man down from the roof, habited as an angel, with censer to cense the rood. This fact he observes could have been accomplished from the hole I have adverted to.

The enormous and disproportioned size of the west window, has been generally regarded as deteriorating the cathedral. The introduction of the painted glass, to the memory of the late bishop Stanley, does not much mitigate the evil. The iconoclasts, during the rebellion, worked hard to deface the cathedral. Not only have the effigies of bishops Scambler and Parkhurst disappeared, but, with the exception of one small brass in Jesus' chapel, not a single specimen is to be found.

The tower, EARLY NORMAN, must be esteemed for its grandeur and beauty. The lofty PERPENDICULAR spire, is also entitled to our admiration. A painted wooden reredos was formerly in the cathedral. It has been removed and fixed in a corner of the vestry. It belongs to the fourteenth century, and represents, in five compartments, the scourging, bearing of the cross, crucifixion, resurrection and ascension. This recovery is due to Mr. Harrod, who found it doing duty as a table for sorting papers in the treasury, turned bottom upwards. It has been engraved

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i, p, 240; ed. 1774, 4to.

<sup>2</sup> P. 459; ed. 1730, 4to.



by Le Keux, in the Norwich volume of the Archæological Institute, from a drawing by Mr. Digby Wyatt. This gentleman agrees with Mr. Way, in assigning its execution to the early Italian school. He attributes the work to some student of the Siennese masters of the latter part of the fourteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Norwich contains scattered about throughout the city, numerous specimens of carved wooden work. The stalls (subsellia) or misereres, as they are vulgarly and ridiculously called, are numerous in the cathedral. Mr. Harrod enumerates the subjects carved upon sixty-two of these, the number required for prior, sub-prior and sixty monks. They present personifications of saints, emblems, heraldic bearings and many are very grotesque; they, however, exhibit much skill, and their execution has been assigned to about 1480. Some have been engraved in the *Norfolk Archæology* (vol. ii, pp. 234-552), and a good description given by the rev. R. Hart, who has entered upon the subject at considerable length. In a Norman niche above the north door, exteriorly, is a sculptured figure of a bishop, which has been conjectured to be a representation of bishop Hubert, the founder.

The stone roof of the transept has a series of bosses relating to the nativity, etc. An ancient clock was in the south transept, having figures of soldiers of the time of James I, to strike the quarters. They are in the possession of a citizen of Norwich.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Way found an account in the sacrist rolls, of a more elaborate piece of mechanism.<sup>3</sup>

The cloister has received much and deserved attention. Mr. Harrod is warm in his expressions, as to the magnificence of its area, the beauty and variety of its architecture and its marvellous roof. It is not, however, the Norman cloister; and, whether that was of stone or wood, is even unknown. The present cloister dates no earlier than the close of the thirteenth century, and may be considered as belonging to the beginning of the Decorated period. The fire of 1272 destroyed the original cloister. There is a particular account of the building of the present clois-

<sup>1</sup> Norwich vol. Arch. Inst., p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Masters exhibited these figures to the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society in April 1849.

<sup>3</sup> Journal of the Archæological Institute, vol. xii, p. 177.

ter, by William of Worcester, preserved in his note-book at Corpus Christi college, Cambridge, and the date given to the commencement of the work is fixed at 1297, and by the Lord Ralph Walpole, then bishop of Norwich. This is confirmed by a stone in the west part of the cloister, with the inscription, "The Lord Ralph Walpole, bishop of Norwich, placed me."<sup>1</sup> The inceptor, or designer, is in like manner distinguished on another stone by an inscription, "Richard Upphalle placed me." The door into the cathedral is remarkable, and has been figured by Carter and by Britton. Doubts exist with regard to the position occupied by the infirmary. This constitutes a subject worthy the attention of our architects. I forbear to enter upon further details in regard to the cathedral, and shall close these observations by relating an anecdote which may serve as an admonition to antiquaries, to be particular in making their transcripts. The history of Norwich cathedral by Blomefield, points out a boss over the refectory door as being carved with the figure of the espousals, and in a *Guide to the Church* it was made to be "a sacrament of marriage, represented by our first parents; the custom being, formerly, for the couple who were to be married, to be placed at the church door, where the priest used to join their hands and perform the greatest part of the matrimonial office." Blomefield indulges in a long disquisition in regard to marriage at the church door; but neither he, nor those who have followed him, appear to have recollected that it was no church door at all, but merely the door of the refectory of the convent. Mr. Harrod examined this boss, and he tells us, that it represents Adam and Eve on each side of the tree, as commonly figured, with the serpent tempting; so there is an end of the "espousals." But there is a phrase appertaining to it, and it has been read in *quibus maritugia dependent*. Examination of the writing of William of Worcester at once solved the mystery; the word is not *maritugia*, relating to marriage, but *manutergia*, so that we may read the passage in *quibus manutergia dependent*, in which the towels hung, or where the hands were wiped, not where the marriage was celebrated or the hands joined together.

<sup>1</sup> Dominus Radulfus Walpole Norwicensis episcopus me posuit.



The churches of Norfolk are too numerous even to be referred to in a paper of this description. There are no less than thirty-four in Norwich, independent of five others, hamlet churches, belonging to the city, namely:—Heigham; St. Mary, Earlham; St. Andrew, Eaton; St. Mary, Hollesden, and St. John the Baptist, and All Saints at Lakenham. The principal churches only containing anything remarkable will therefore be visited, commented upon, and arranged in the records of the Congress proceedings. At present, I shall merely observe, that one of the distinguishing features of the churches of East Anglia, and which may be regarded as common and almost peculiar to this division, is the round towers. As, however, there is but little stone in Norfolk, the buildings are very generally faced with dressed flints; imparting durability, and, in many cases, elegance to the walls and other erections. This is applicable, not only to work of the Perpendicular period, but is also found in the Decorated. Open timber roofs are not infrequent, and a fine example is afforded at St. Peter Mancroft, which reminds us of what we saw at Martock, in Somersetshire.<sup>1</sup> The fonts are generally good and of the Perpendicular style. One of the finest specimens is at East Dereham, of an octangular shape, panelled with small groups of sculpture in the upper panels, illustrative of the seven sacraments of the Roman Church and the crucifixion, and single figures of saints in the lower panels.<sup>2</sup> They are unfortunately mutilated, but an excellent engraving of the font is given in the Norwich volume of the Archæological Institute (p. 183). Mr. Parker takes notice of a feature almost peculiar to this part of England, “the small window or opening, fitted with rich tracery, in the middle story, commonly called sound holes, but perhaps, more properly, air holes, as their object seems to be to give air to the ringing loft under the belfry” (*ib.* p. 159). Of rood screens and wood carving, examples in Norfolk are yet numerous, although many fine specimens have disappeared. Painted rood screens were more numerous in Norfolk than, perhaps, in all other counties together. Three hundred, at least, according to a calculation made by the rev. Richard

<sup>1</sup> Described and figured in the *Journal* for 1857, vol. xiii, p. 44 et seq.

<sup>2</sup> See the very rev. Dr. Husenbeth's interesting paper on this subject.



Hart,<sup>1</sup> must have been destroyed by the Puritans, and the subsequent neglect of them. They are fine illustrations of mediæval art; and good examples are remaining at Worstead, Barton, Marsham, Aylsham and Randworth, of the latter of which Mr. Harrod has given us a plate. He has also exhibited the peculiarities in the colours employed, and the means of applying them. Of a very extended and remarkable example at the church of St. Andrew, at North Burlingham, the rev. John Gunn has given an account,<sup>2</sup> and attempted a synoptic table to facilitate description and aid in comparison. No one has, however, yet followed so excellent an example. The subjects on this screen are most diversified, and offer representations of various saints, virtues, powers, thrones, angels, archangels, etc. The table embraces the subjects on the screens at Barton, Irstead, Randworth, Lessingham, and North Burlingham. The rev. J. Lee Warner, has also described a screen at Houghton.<sup>3</sup>

Mural paintings have been discovered in several Norfolk churches. Our associate, Mr. Dawson Turner, has a fine collection of drawings of them. Thirteen relating to Catfield church, of the time of Edward III. He is of opinion that a large proportion and, possibly, the whole of the Norfolk parochial churches had their interior walls originally ornamented with paintings, and that these were the work of different hands, from the saints, etc., on the rood loft screens, and were also very inferior in point of execution.<sup>4</sup> The very rev. Dr. F. C. Husenbeth has minutely described the subjects;—the wheel of fortune; the tree of the seven deadly sins; the contrary virtues; baptism; confirmation; penance; confession; matrimony; extreme unction; crucifixion; the Samaritan woman and the Saviour at the well of Jacob; St. Luke; Nathan and David; adoration of the shepherds; history of the wise men; martyrdom of St. Lawrence; martyrdom of St. Catharine; our Lord's resurrection; St. John the evangelist, and St. John the baptist. These are not to be considered as altogether perfect, but sufficiently so to enable the subject to be discerned.

Another mural painting was found at Wimbolsham

<sup>1</sup> Norfolk Archaeology, i, 324.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, iii, 19.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, iv, 345.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, i, 123.

church, representing St. Christopher with the infant Saviour.<sup>1</sup> And at Crostwight church, there are the deadly sins, St. Michael, St. Christopher, Christ before Pilate, the crucifixion, etc.<sup>2</sup> At Ditchingham church, the resurrection and other subjects, as at Wymondham.<sup>3</sup> At Drayton, doctor Husenbeth has described St. Christopher, St. George, Christ appearing to Mary Magdalen, consecration crosses, the Saviour.<sup>4</sup> At Cawston, the rev. James Bulwer has made out St. Agnes;<sup>5</sup> whilst at Brooke,<sup>6</sup> the rev. William Beale has found the creed written in eleven small narrow parallel columns, extending the whole width of the church in colours red and black. This was on the western wall; so that, clearly, at the time in which it was executed, probably about the commencement of the reformation, it could not have been the practice of worshippers in reciting the creed to turn towards the east. The commandments were also written on the wall; and there is also a curious representation of an alewife, similar to one engraved by us from a subsella in Ludlow church.<sup>7</sup> The ale represented as being drawn from the barrel is personified by flame. An angel above is issuing also forth in fire, and flames are beneath the wood-work on which the barrel rests.

It was a practice, as we know from churchwardens' books, that mural paintings of portions of Scriptures were executed in the reign of Edward VI; and, at St. Mary-hill, London, there are entries of payments for the same, of the date of 1547; and at St. Mary, Westminster, in 1554, for washing out a portion of Scripture that had been written on the high altar table. They must have been before 1560, when the order was issued for placing the tables of the commandments at the east end of the church. In Brooke church, much was observed that could not be made out; one portion was considered to relate to the prodigal son, and from the style of painting

<sup>1</sup> Norfolk Archaeology, ii, 127.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, p. 405.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 352.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, iii, p. 24.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, iii, 62.

<sup>7</sup> See *Journal*, vol. iv, p. 215. The Ludlow specimen represents a demon carrying off the alewife adorned with a fine headdress, and holding her false measure in her hand, whilst another imp of darkness accompanies her, playing on a bagpipe, in her progress to hell mouth, figured at the right end of the carving. At the other extremity a third demon may be presumed to be reading out, or holding, a catalogue of her sins. The head of the first demon has been unfortunately broken off.

was assigned to the middle of the fourteenth century. The mortal sins were typified, and hell displayed with monstrous jaws for the reception of the wicked. A curious figure of a bear, armed with belt and sword, is grotesquely making off with a victim, whom he is dragging by the legs upon his back. Here also was represented St. Christopher, and Adam and Eve being driven out of paradise. At Stow Bardolph, the rev. G. H. Dashwood found two representations of St. Christopher; one of about the date of 1400, the other a century later. There were also the martyrdom of St. Edmund, part of a judgment scene, the crucifixion, and various heraldic bearings, of the house of Beaufort. The manor of Stow Bardolph was granted to Thomas Beaufort, afterwards duke of Exeter, by Henry IV. The emblems of the passion are attributed to this period. At Fritton, the rev. J. Gunn discovered St. Christopher, St. George, etc.<sup>1</sup> At Burlingham, St. Edmund, a representation of the murder of St. Thomas à Becket, was discovered in July 1856, somewhat similar in character to one found at St. John's, Winchester, fully described and figured by Mr. Baigent in our *Journal*.<sup>2</sup> The walls on which mural paintings are met with, are usually found covered with diapering and patterns of scroll-work, stripes, flowers, and stars.

The most recent discovery of mural painting in a Norfolk church, has been communicated by the rev. doctor Husenbeth to the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, in the month of April last, but discovered in 1852, at Limpenhoe. The subject consists of a representation of the history and martyrdom of St. Catharine, which is seen in a succession of paintings in different parts of the church.

<sup>1</sup> Norfolk Archæology, iv, 345.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. x, pp. 53-87.

ON RAOUL DE GAEL, THE FIRST EARL OF  
NORFOLK.

BY J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., ROUGE CROIX, HON. SEC.

THE noble title derived from the county of Norfolk is one of such celebrity that it would appear at first sight next to impossible to raise any point respecting it which had not been thoroughly discussed and disposed of by the antiquary or the biographer; and yet, on sitting down to my pleasant task, I found myself, at the very outset, perplexed by the silence or the discrepancies of our best authorities on a question of no less importance than the native country and parentage of the first earl of Norfolk after the conquest.

All our historians are agreed upon the fact that the consulate of the East Angles, comprising the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and part of Cambridge, was given by William the Conqueror to one of his followers named Raoul or Ralph—indifferently designated Guader, Waher, Gwyder, Gael, Waite, Ware, and even Vacajet; so that it is almost difficult to believe the writers are all of them really speaking of the same individual. This Ralph, however, who was one of the principal leaders of the Bretons in the great expedition of William, and received, we are told, as a reward for his services, the earldoms of Norfolk and Suffolk: married, some say with the consent, others in positive defiance, of his sovereign, Emma daughter of William Fitz Osborne the great earl of Hereford, and sister of his son and successor, Roger de Breteuil; and on his very wedding-day joined with his brother-in-law and Waltheof earl of Northampton in a plot against king William, which might have speedily terminated the reign of the Conqueror, had not Waltheof, repenting almost in the same breath, denounced the conspirators, first, to Lanfranc archbishop of Canterbury, and then, by his advice, to the king himself, who was at that time in Normandy. Roger earl of Hereford was taken and thrown into prison, out of which he never came alive; but Ralph earl of Norfolk fortunately escaped to Denmark. His wife heroic-



ally defended the castle of Norwich until she could make honourable terms for herself and the Bretons under her command. Ralph, after ineffectually attempting an inroad with some forces hastily raised in Denmark, retired to Brittany, and eventually made a pilgrimage, with his brave and faithful countess, to the Holy Land, in which the mortal career of both is said to have terminated.

These few facts, stated in as few words, are to be found, with little or no variation, in all our English annalists, occasionally accompanied by a note or a parenthesis containing an assertion or a suggestion respecting the parentage of this traitorous and ungrateful nobleman.

The Saxon Chronicle, which has been followed by some of the early historians, says, under the date of 1075, "this year king William *gave* earl Ralph the daughter of William Fitz Osborne to wife." This same Ralph was British (Bryttise) on his mother's side; but his father, whose name was also Ralph, was English, and born in Norfolk. The king, therefore, gave his son the earldom of Norfolk and Suffolk; and he then led the bride to Norwich. There," continues the old chronicler—

"There was that bride-ale  
The source of man's bale."

"It was earl Roger and earl Ralph who were authors of that plot, and who enticed the Britons (Bryttus) to them, and sent each to Denmark after a fleet to assist them," etc. In contradiction to the above statement, that the king *gave* to earl Ralph the daughter of Fitz Osborne to wife, the majority of the Norman historians contend that the match was, for unknown reasons, strictly prohibited by the king; and in as positive opposition to the assertion that earl Ralph was British on his *mother's* side, William of Malmesbury, who calls him Ralph de Waher, says he was a Briton on his *father's* side ("Brito ex patre"), and of a disposition foreign to everything good.<sup>1</sup> Matthew Paris and Matthew of Westminster both call *him*, and not his father, an Englishman, born in Norfolk, and, by his *mother's* side, of British parentage; "which," says Dugdale, "they understand to be Welsh; but others say he was of Brittany in France, which is the more likely, in

<sup>1</sup> Book iii.

regard he was the owner of the castle of Guader in that province."<sup>1</sup> Here we begin to approximate the truth; for Guillaume de Jumieges, a contemporary writer, in describing the issue of William Fitz Osborne, says that one of his daughters, named Emma, is married to Radulf de Waïet, "genere Britoni, qui fuit comes Norwicensis";<sup>2</sup> and Ordericus Vitalis, another excellent and contemporaneous genealogist, not only calls him "Ralph the Breton", but says that, on his being disinherited of his English honours, for his rebellion against William, and banished England, he returned to Brittany, "where he owned the castles of Guader and Montfort, which are to this day in the possession of his descendants by hereditary right."<sup>3</sup> The English editor of Ordericus remarks, in a foot note, that the family of Ralph was of the Armorican branch of the Welsh, having come from Brittany, and been settled in England before the conquest; but he refers to no authority for this statement, observing only that the castles alluded to are those of Gael and Montfort-la-Caune. Augustine Vincent, in a manuscript note in the interleaved copy of his *Discoverie*, preserved in the College of Arms, has noticed the fact that this Ralph de Guader is called by the French historians Raoul de Gael, and says, "Donc cherchez en Augustine de Paz et autres histoires de Bretagne". De Paz, however, does not enlighten us on the subject; and Maurice<sup>4</sup> only says,—“Raoul de Gael fut gratifié de l'ancien royaume d'Est Angle qui comprenoit les comtes de Northfolk et de Suffolk,” calling him, in the next page, “Raoul de Montfort et de Gael”.<sup>5</sup> But the old Norman poet, master Wace, in his Chronicle of the Conquest, says distinctly, “next the company of Neel rode Raol de Gael. He was himself a Breton, and led Bretons. He served for the land he had; but he held it short time enough, for he forfeited it, as they say.”<sup>6</sup> There is some very important evidence to be extracted from these few words, written, be it remembered, from the accounts of living witnesses of the battle of Hastings and its immediate consequences.

<sup>1</sup> Baronage, p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> 299 D.

<sup>3</sup> 535 C.

<sup>4</sup> Histoire de Bretagne.

<sup>5</sup> “Ranols de Gader le Proz.” Benoit de St. Maure.

<sup>6</sup> Roman de Rou, l. 1327-32.

Blomefield, in his *History of the County of Norfolk*, appears to have been the first who discovered that Ralph earl of Norfolk was stated in *Domesday* to have held lands which another earl Ralph had held in the time of king Edward the Confessor; and that, in one particular instance, it is expressly recorded that this earl Ralph held four carrucates of land in Eccles (Shropham hundred), in the time of king Edward, afterwards held by earl Ralph *his son*.<sup>1</sup> Sir Henry Ellis, in his valuable introduction to *Domesday*; Mr. Edgar Taylor, in his translation of Wace's *Chronicle*; and Dr. Lappenberg, in his *History of the Anglo-Normans*, have all commented upon this remarkable testimony; and Mr. Taylor, in a note to the passage in Wace, which I have quoted above, makes these observations: "He (Raol de Gael) is known in English history as Ralph earl of Norfolk, whose estates were forfeited for his treason in 1075. From *Domesday* it would seem that both he and a former Ralph, his father, were earls under the Confessor, the father being repeatedly referred to in Norfolk as 'vetus comes', the predecessor of 'comes Ralf, filius ejus', and both holding lands in succession during Edward's reign. In one place we find, 'rex Edwardus dedit Radulfo comiti'. Was Ralph, 'vetus comes', the same person as Ralph Stalre? Can he have held the earldom of Norfolk when the Godwins were in disgrace? And may not his son, at his death, have failed in succeeding to the earldom, and have then repaired to the Continent, and joined William, in order to recover his own English property? Ralph the elder, no doubt, married a Breton heiress, from whom her estates passed to her son, an Englishman, of Norfolk, on the father's side, as described by the old historians, though also of Breton descent and estate?"

I have quoted the whole of this note in justice to Mr. Taylor, who has comprised in it, I believe, the sum of what has been hitherto discovered or suggested respecting the parentage of Raoul de Gael. It will be for you to say whether I have succeeded in throwing any further light upon the subject by investigating the genealogy of an earl Ralph who obtained an unenviable notoriety during the latter days of Edward the Confessor. That prince, who

<sup>1</sup> "Scerpham hundret. In eccles ten. Rad. com's t. r. e. 1111 ear'. p' tenuit Radulfus comes fili' ej. Pea Ailmarus eps. de utroque." *Domesday*, Norfolk, 194.



had passed the greater part of his youth in Normandy, was, as is well known, excessively partial to foreigners, and evinced that partiality to the great offence of his Anglo-Saxon subjects. His sister, Goda, had married Dreux, or Drogo, count of the Vexin; and on Edward's return to England he brought with him one of her sons, named Raoul,<sup>1</sup> to whom, after his accession to the throne, he appears to have given large estates in England; and at some period, probably after the banishment of Sweyne, as Dr. Lappenberg suggests, to have invested with the earldom of Hereford.<sup>2</sup> Dugdale, Vincent, and all the English genealogists (following, perhaps, a passage in William of Malmesbury) have committed the great error of stating Goda's first husband to have been Walter de Mantes,<sup>3</sup> whereas Walter de Mantes was her eldest son by the aforesaid Dreux, and brother of Raoul or Ralph earl of Hereford; the wife of Walter being Biota, daughter of Herbert, comte du Maine, as Malmesbury himself admits in another part of his history. Upon the banishment of Godwin and his sons, in 1501, "Raulf the earl", and "Odda the earl", had the command of a fleet at Sandwich; and in the following year, Raulf summoned his forces to join those of the loyal earls, Leofric and Siward, in defence of the kingdom against the rebellious family. In 1055, however, Alfgar, the son of Leofric, having been exiled on suspicion of treason, repaired to Ireland, where he procured a fleet of eighteen ships, and then, sailing to Wales, obtained the protection and assistance of king Griffin, and with a combined force of Irish and Welsh advanced into Herefordshire, where they were encountered by earl Ralph, who had made head to meet them. "But before there was any spear thrown," says the *Saxon Chronicle*, "the English people fled, because they were on horseback; and then great slaughter was made," the invaders burning the city and cathedral of Hereford, and the bishop himself within its walls. All the historians mention this flight of

<sup>1</sup> "Comes quidem Radulfus nomine, Normannus natione, quem rex Edwardus de tædiosi latibulis exilii olim revertens, secum in Angliam adduxerat."—*Historia Ramesiensis*, cap. cxvi.

<sup>2</sup> Even the acute sir F. Palgrave has fallen into this error. *Hist. Anglo-Sax.*, cap. xiv.

<sup>3</sup> History of England under the Norman Kings. Dr. J. M. Lappenberg. Translated by B. Thorpe. 8vo.; Oxford, 1857.



the English, whom, it appears, earl Ralph had compelled to fight on horseback, to which they were unaccustomed,<sup>1</sup> being probably raw troops hastily raised, and masses of infantry, in which the strength of the Anglo-Saxons mainly consisted; and most of the writers indulge in reflections on the earl, whom they call weak or indolent, and cowardly.<sup>2</sup>

Whatever truth there may be in these charges, we hear no more of him from the date of this disaster until his death, which occurred two years afterwards, on 12th kalends of January (*i.e.* 21st of December) 1057, when he was buried at Peterborough,<sup>3</sup> in the cathedral to which he had been a benefactor.<sup>4</sup> The only issue that has hitherto been assigned to Ralph earl of Hereford, is Harold, ancestor of the barons of Sudely. In Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, and Warwickshire, lands were held, at the time of the *Survey*, by "Haroldus", or "Heraldus filius Radulphi comitis", and which had previously been held by "Radulphus pater ejus". I believe, however, that this is the same earl Ralph who is, in other parts of that invaluable record, named as the father of Ralph earl of Norfolk; and for the following reasons. In the first place I can find no mention of any other earl Ralph existing during that particular period in England; and in the second, there is sufficient evidence that the Ralph who is called earl of Hereford by William of Malmesbury, earl of Herford by Ingulphus and Fordun,<sup>5</sup> and earl of Worcestershire by sir Francis Palgrave, has been considered by others to have been earl of East Anglia, that is, Norfolk and Suffolk. In

<sup>1</sup> "Timidum ducem Radulphum, qui Anglos *contra morem* in equis pugnare fecerat fugaverunt." (John Brompton.)

<sup>2</sup> "Ignavus et timidus." (William of Malmesbury.) "Timidus dux Radulphus." (Florence of Worcester and Hoveden.)

<sup>3</sup> "And within the same year died Raulf the earl, on the 12th kalend of January (21st of December), and lies at Burg" (Peterborough). *Saxon. Chron.*, sub anno 1057.

<sup>4</sup> "Radulphus comes nepos regis Edwardi dedit Eastun et Membra eidem villæ adjacentiæ silicet Brinnegest et Prestgrave et Dreitun et Glatestun." (Regist. Burg. Glover. Coll. B., College of Arms.) He also gave lands to St. Edmund's abbey, Suffolk. "Radulphus comes qui dedit Holth et Southwalsham T. R. E." (Regist. of St. Benedict de Holme, Cotton MS.) The inspection of some of his charters, if still in existence, would most probably afford us important information.

<sup>5</sup> "Eodem vero tempore bello de Linfannen et anno rex Walliæ Griffinus comitem *Herfordiæ* Radulfum e bello fugavit." (Johannes Fordun, Scot. Hist. lib. v. c. 8.)

Duchesne's list of the names of Normans who flourished in England before the conquest,<sup>1</sup> occurs "Ralph comes Est Anglorum pater Heraldi dominus de Sudley"; and in that of nobles living in the twentieth year of king William the Conqueror, "Radulfus comes Est Anglia", is marked as "mortuus antea".<sup>2</sup> The old Anglo-Norman poet Gaimar is still more explicit. He declares, at line 4,923, that count Leuric (Leofric) held Norfolk;<sup>3</sup> and tells us almost immediately afterwards, that, on Leofric's death, Raoul was seized of his honour, but held it for a very short time, and was buried at Peterborough, then called Burgh, count Leofric being buried at Coventry.<sup>4</sup> I submit that this is sufficient proof of the identity of Ralph earl of Hereford with the old earl Ralph who held so much land in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, and who is positively stated in *Domesday* to have been the father of Ralph first earl of Norfolk after the conquest, as well as of Harold dominus de Sudely.

But we have yet some important collateral evidence to examine: important, because whatever may be its value with respect to the direct question before us, it will be found to correct some very serious errors in our ancient chronicles, which have undoubtedly been the cause of considerable confusion in several genealogies. I have already pointed out to you the mistake of Malmesbury. "Eustace earl of Boulogne", he says, "the father of Godfrey and Baldwin, who, in our times were kings of Jerusalem, had married the king's sister, Goda, who had borne a son named Ralph to *her former husband, Walter de Mantes*. This son, at that time earl of Hereford, was both weak and cowardly," etc.; and then, in a subsequent passage, he

<sup>1</sup> "Nomina Normannorum qui floruerunt in Anglia ante Conquestum."

<sup>2</sup> "Magnates superstes anno xx regni Will. Conquestoris."

<sup>3</sup> Le Quens Leuric Norfolk teneit. (L. 4,923.)

<sup>4</sup> "Donc morust le comte Leuriez  
De s'onur fut Raul saiziz  
Mais poi la tint e tost fina  
Mult fu prodhom poi dura.  
Li Quens a Burg fu enfuiz  
A Coventry le Quens Leuriez."

It would seem by this statement that Ralph was made earl of Norfolk, or rather of the East Angles, on the death of Leofric; Ælfgar, Leofric's son, succeeding to his father's earldom of Mercia; and Harold, who had already obtained his father's earldom of Kent, adding that of East Anglia to it on the death of Ralph.

<sup>5</sup> "Eustachius comes erat Bononie, pater Godefridi et Baldwini, qui nostra tempore regis Jerusalemorum fuerunt. Habebatq. sororem regis, Godam, legi-

contradicts himself by informing us that, on the decease of Hugh earl of Maine, "the inhabitants of Maine rather inclined to *Walter of Mantes, who had married Hugo's sister*". Such being, indeed, the fact, Biota, wife of Walter de Mantes, being, as I have already stated, daughter of Herbert count of Maine, surnamed "Eveille Chien", and sister of Hugo.<sup>1</sup> Ingulphus, who lived nearer the time, makes a similar mistake. He marries Goda to her younger son, "magni comitis Herfordensis *Radulfi* qui Godam regis sororem duxerat in uxorem: et apud Burgum jacet tumulatus." Nothing but a careful examination and comparison of dates can extricate us from the confusion thus created by writers to whom we naturally look as authorities.

Dreux, count of the Vexin, of Pontoise, Chaumont, and Amiens, hereditary Porte oriflamme of France, the first husband of Goda, died A.D. 1035; and Goda, who remarried with Eustace earl of Boulogne, must have died before 1056, as in December 1057 Eustace married his second wife, Ida, daughter of Geoffrey le Barbu, duke de Bouillon. Goda's issue by Dreux<sup>2</sup> was—1, Gautier or Walter, third of that name, count of Pontoise, Chaumont, and Mantes, the Walter de Mantes of our historians; 2, Aumary de Pontoise, part founder of the abbey of St. Martin de Pontoise, and father of Aumary called the "Delicate"; 3, Fouques, bishop of Amiens in 1076;<sup>3</sup> and 4, Raoul count of Amiens, according to père Anselm, nephew (as were, of course, all his brothers) to Edward the Confessor, and earl of Hereford, according to Malmesbury, in England,—at all events the "timidus dux Radulfus regis Edwardi sororis filius" of Hoveden and others, and the "Raoul de Mantes" of Rapin.

timis nuptiis disponatur quæ ex altero viro Waltero Medantius filium tulerat Radulphum, qui eo tempore erat comes Herefordensis, ignavus et timidus, qui Wallensibus pugna cesserit," etc. (Lib. ii, f. 81.)

<sup>1</sup> Or Herbert the second, according to Monsr. Levrier, Art. de vérifier les Dates; Comtes de Vexin.

<sup>2</sup> Duchesne; Maison de Montmorency; Art de vérifier les Dates; Chronologie historique des Comtes de Vexin; Dufrieson, les Memoires de Mons. de Lurier, lieutenant-general du Baillage de Meulent.

<sup>3</sup> In vol. xxvi of the *Archæologia*, Mr. Stapleton has, I suspect, made a mistake,—a rare thing for him to do. He has, I think, confounded the counts of Ponthieu with the counts of Pontoise, and made Guy, bishop of Amiens (the author of the Latin poem on the battle of Hastings) a member of the former family instead of the latter. Bishop Guy was, I believe, a brother of Dreux, and uncle of Foulques, who succeeded him in 1076. "Foulques qui fut eveque d'Amiens apres Gui son oncle." (Mons. de Levrier, *Chron. Hist. des Comtes du Vexin*.)



Walter de Mantes, Ralph's eldest brother, was, together with his wife, Biota, basely poisoned at Falaise, by William the Conqueror, in 1065, in order to secure possession of the county of Maine, the reversion of which was, it is said, bequeathed to him by Biota's father after the decease of Hugo,<sup>1</sup> Walter claiming it in right of his wife, and being the popular candidate. This infamous act is passed over in silence by most of the English historians, ancient and modern;<sup>2</sup> but Ordericus Vitalis, in his account of the fatal "bride-ale" of Ixingham, where the conspiracy against William was formed by Roger de Breteuil and Raoul de Gael, represents the latter nobleman as making this double murder one of the charges against the Norman king of England, whom they accuse of having also poisoned Conan duke of Brittany, and of other foul and tyrannical actions. "He who now bears the title of king," the earls are reported to have said, "is unworthy of it, being a bastard; and it must be evident that it is displeasing to God such a master should govern the kingdom . . . He disinherited and drove out of Normandy William Werlenc count of Mortain for a single word. Walter count de Pontoise, nephew of king Edward, and Biota his wife, being his guests at Falaise, were both his victims by poison in one and the same night. Conan also was taken off by poison at William's instigation,—that valiant count whose death was mourned through the whole of Brittany with unutterable grief on account of his great virtues. These and other such crimes have been perpetrated by William in the case of his own kinsfolk and relations; and he is ever ready to act the same part towards us and our peers." (*Ordericus Vitalis*, B. 4, cap. 14.) There is tolerable evidence that all these charges were well founded; and if I am correct in my deductions, we have here a very strong justification of Raoul de Gael's rebellion, which has been represented by the partial Norman historians and their modern followers as a monstrous piece of ingratitude. Walter de Mantes and Biota must have been the uncle

<sup>1</sup> Other authorities say that Robert, William's eldest son, had been betrothed to Marguerite, only daughter of Hugo or Herbert, and that it was on this pretence William claimed Maine.

<sup>2</sup> Malmesbury, who acknowledges the preference of the inhabitants of Maine for Walter, says amusingly enough,—“but at length, being brought to their senses by many heavy losses, they acknowledged William.”



and aunt of Raoul de Gael; and to Conan duke of Brittany, the Conqueror's other victim, Raoul would owe fealty, as his possessions were in that province; while to those in England he had naturally succeeded on the death of his father, the old earl Ralph, and consequently had been rewarded by William, for his assistance at Hastings, by confirmation only in his hereditary rights and dignity. Place this almost unavoidable act of justice more than favour in one scale, and the base assassination of his nearest relatives and of his native feudal lord, in the other, added to the imperious prohibition of his marriage with Emma, under, perhaps, the most aggravating circumstances,—for no reasons have been given, and we are justified in believing that William, a notorious promise-breaker, may have acted towards Ralph de Gael as he had previously done towards earl Edwin, the son of earl Algar, to whom he had first promised his daughter, and then broke faith with him, and drove him into rebellion. Weigh, I repeat, these injuries against a questionable boon; and I think you will agree with me that the obligations of the Breton noble to the Norman sovereign dwindle down to a burden not very likely to have encumbered his conscience, even if murder and tyranny could not legally as well as morally absolve him. Who shall say that the very object of the astute tyrant was not to exasperate his two powerful vassals, and drive them into rebellion, as he had previously Edwin and Morcar, so that he might have a legal pretence for seizing on their large domains in England,—which was, of course, the first thing he did do?

In a note upon Raoul's speech, by the English editor of Ordericus, it is remarked that Walter de Mantes and Ralph are both called counts; but that Walter only was count after his father, and that "there is no trace in history of Ralph, who must have been the second son." I trust, however, that I have pointed out a trace, and proved that Ordericus was fully justified in calling both the brothers counts, as Walter was count of Pontoise, and Ralph, if not count of Amiens in France, undoubtedly possessed the rank of earl in England, whether of Hereford or East Anglia. He is always so styled by the chroniclers and in *Domesday*. He was a witness to many of his uncle's charters, with Godwin earl of Kent, Leofric earl of Mercia,

Siward earl of Northumberland, Harold earl of Essex, and others; and signed, as they usually did, "dux": "Ego Radulfus dux laudavi" occurs in a charter as early as 1047. In 1050 he signs himself "Ego Raulf dux"; and in 1054 (the latest I have met with) he writes "Ego Ranulf dux". That he was not identical with Ralph Stalre, as Mr. Taylor suggests, is clear from that personage being a witness to a charter as late as 1060, in company with "Esgar Stallere" and "Bondy Stallere",<sup>1</sup> as Ralph the earl died, as already stated, in 1057, when the ascendancy of the family of Godwin may have prevented his son Ralph de Gael from succeeding immediately to his title, though it would appear by the entries in *Domesday*, supported by the remark of Wace, that he did, to some portions of the English estates.<sup>2</sup> The rest, perhaps, were in the possession of his mother, or devised to certain relatives, the existence of whom is clearly to be discovered in the Norman *Survey*. For instance, "Salha tenuit Godwinus avunculus Radulphi comitis T. R. E."; and again, "G (Godwinus) avunculus Radulfi, T. R. E., modo tenet R. de Verlei." This Godwin is, in other places, distinguished by the name of Halden,<sup>3</sup> from the great earl Godwin, with whom Blomefield confounds him. We next meet with "Alsio nepoti comitis R";<sup>4</sup> and as the names of Godwin and Alsy both indicate an English origin, I think we may consider them as relations by the wife or mother's side. Sir Henry Ellis, in his introduction to *Domesday*, has shewn that the wife of the elder earl Ralph (the "vetus comes") is named in the *Survey* as "Getha uxor Radulfi comitis" and "Gueth comitissa", who held lands in Buckinghamshire. But though identifying her as the mother of Harold, lord of Sudely, he does not (his attention not having been specially directed to the point, as mine has been) allude to the probability, if not

<sup>1</sup> This title of "stalre" has been said to signify "master of the horse"; but from three persons bearing it at the same time, it could scarcely have been so great an officer. Other authorities have explained it as synonymous with "sewer" or "dapifer"; and the name of Raulf occurs as witness to a charter of about the same date (circa 1060), with the addition of "dapifer": "Signum Raulfi regis dapiferi." (Cod. Dip. Saxon. J. M. Kemble.)

<sup>2</sup> "He served for the land he had", must allude to land in England; for he adds, "but he held it short time enough, for he forfeited it, as they say."

<sup>3</sup> Terre Godwini Haldeni. H. de Tanerhum Norfolk, 271.

<sup>4</sup> Suffolk, 324; also in *Little Domesday*, which contains only Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, we have Sudfole (Gillingham). "In eodem tenet Alviet. liber homo comendatus Alsio nepoti comitis Radulfi xxx ac pro manerio. T. R. E."

the fact, of her being also the mother of Ralph de Gael. This would tend to corroborate the old historians, so far as to distinguish between the native countries of his father and mother. The former is called a Norman in the *Historia Ramesiensis*,<sup>1</sup> and is placed in the list of Normans in Duchesne; but most probably possessed those lands and castles in Brittany which were afterwards held by his son, who in that case might be fairly termed "Britto ex patre"; whilst the mother, born on this side the channel, of Saxon or Celtic parents, might be called British in another sense of the word. The assertion also, that the elder Ralph was an Englishman, born in Norfolk, may not be untrue; for his mother, the sister of Edward the Confessor, might have been in this country, and in this county, at the time of his birth: while on the other hand the countess Getha was probably in Bretagne when Raoul was born,—from which circumstance he might take the name of De Gael, as having first seen the light in that castle. This view of the case has certainly the advantage of reconciling nearly all the apparently conflicting assertions of history and tradition as to the parentage of Ralph earl of Norfolk; and I will now, in a very few words, clear up the confusion of name.

"Gael", spelt and pronounced "Wael", on the same principle that Guillaume and Gulielmus became William and Willielmus, was anciently called Guadel, similarly softened into Wadel. The relics of St. Mevin were deposited in a monastery there. "Domus ecclesiæ sancti Meruini et sancti Judicialis quæ est in loco nuncupato *Wadel*," i.e. *Gael*. (Lobineau, in *Glossary*). "*Wadel* monasterio". (*Chronicon Britanicum*, in the library at Mantes.) A further commutation of the final *l* for *r*, either by the Latin chroniclers or their careless transcribers, has transformed Wael into Waer, and Guadel into Guader. The other varieties, Gader, Guaer, Waher, Ware, and Waier, are evident errors either of the scribe or printer; and Gwydir, as obvious a guess, originating in the tradition of a Welsh mother. Vacajet, which occurs in *Neustria Pia*, and once in père Maurice's *Histoire de Bretagne*, may be the name

<sup>1</sup> "Normannus natione", vide ante, p. 34, note.

<sup>2</sup> In the "preuves" to Lobineau's *Histoire de Bretagne*, I find the name of "Radulfus Philosophus de *Guadel*," signed to a charter of the date of 1089; and to another, dated 1096, that of "Radulfus senior, de *Wael*, laicus."



of some other lordship, by which he was occasionally called, as he appears as Ralph de Montfort and Ralph de Dol, both castles in Bretagne belonging to himself or his family, and in the latter of which he was besieged by William the Conqueror after his escape from Norwich, and rescued by the friendship of Philip king of France, who compelled William to raise the siege and retire with disgrace.

Few English antiquaries besides the late Mr. Stapleton have turned their serious attention to the investigation of the descents of the followers of the Conqueror, proud as thousands are of tracing up their pedigrees to them, and, through them, to Charlemagne; while others delight in denouncing them, as Richard III, according to Shakespeare, does the followers of another fortunate invader,—“a scum of Bretons”, and

“Overweening rags of France,  
Who, but for dreaming of this fond exploit,  
For want of means, poor rats, had hanged themselves.”<sup>1</sup>

A mere horde, in short, of military adventurers, attracted by the prospect of plunder and of power. In the latter class we have hitherto been led to place Raoul de Gael. I trust I have restored him to his proper position. If I have correctly affiliated him, the blood of Charlemagne *did* run in his veins, for his grandfather was the son of Alice or Adele, daughter of Herbert count of Senlis,—a scion of a younger branch of the counts of Vermandois, and with their blood was mingled that of the Anglo-Saxon sovereigns of England. To prove him of royal lineage, however, would not. I feel assured, advance him in your estimation, were he still stained with treason and branded with ingratitude. His rank would rather give a deeper dye to his delinquency. But in establishing his parentage I think I have thrown a clearer light upon his conduct. A rebel he undoubtedly was; but it was against a felon king, the dastardly assassin of Raoul's kinsfolk whilst he was their host,—

“Who should against the murderer bar the door,  
Not bear the knife himself”,—

and of a liege lord to whom the noble Breton was equally

<sup>1</sup> Richard III, act v, scene 4.



bound; a faithless tyrant, who had abused the power to which he had helped to raise him, by flinging a barrier between him and the chosen of his heart: for that his union with the daughter of Fitz Osborne was one of affection is surely proved by her gallant defence of Norwich castle whilst her husband was seeking aid from his friends, perhaps his relations, in Denmark; and the ultimate pilgrimage of the earl and countess to Palestine, where they found a peaceful grave together.

By one of those remarkable circumstances which are popularly termed judgments, the city of Mantes proved fatal to the ferocious Norman. Enraged by a foolish joke of the French king Philip, as is well known to every reader of English history, William advanced upon Paris, ravaged the county of the Vexin, and set fire to the city of Mantes. The heat of the flames, the progress of which he was savagely enjoying, increased a fever lurking in his veins; and his horse treading on some burning fragment, reared and inflicted on him an injury, which, in that state of his blood, proved mortal, and thus avenged the double murder of the lord of Mantes and his countess Biota.

Raoul de Gael left by his countess Emma two sons, Raoul and Allan, who succeeded to his estates in Brittany. The eldest, Raoul the second, also called DeGael, was taken into favour by Henry I, king of England, to whose son, Richard, he offered his daughter Ita or Avicia. The marriage, however, did not take place, and she afterwards espoused Robert de Bellomont, earl of Leicester. She is, by most of our genealogists, wrongly stated to have been the daughter of Raoul earl of Norfolk.

It was my intention originally to have extended my observations to the earls and dukes of Norfolk, from the family of Bigot to the first of the ancient and noble house of Howard, now in possession of the title; but I found myself so interested in the obscure and contradictory statements concerning Raoul de Gael, that I have "bestowed all my tediousness" upon you in endeavouring to clear up the mystery that surrounded him.

## NOTES ON NORWICH CATHEDRAL.

BY H. H. BURNELL, ESQ.

THE council of the British Archæological Association having done me the honour to request that I would undertake the examination of Norwich cathedral, which forms one of the principal objects selected to engage our attention during the Norfolk Congress, I propose, in the few introductory remarks with which it is essential to precede the inspection, to advert to its history, commencing on the 9th April 1094, when bishop Herbert de Losinga translated the see of Thetford to Norwich. His consecration, by Thomas archbishop of York, took place on the same day, and is reported to have been celebrated in the church of St. Michael, Tombland,—a church belonging to Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk.

Herbert de Losinga, or Losing, is asserted by Pitts, Weever, and others, to have been a native of Orford, in Suffolk; but Dugdale, Antony à Wood, and Tanner, assign his birth to *Pagus Oxunensi* or *Oxinensi*, in Normandy. His monument represents him as a native of Heims or Hiemes, in Normandy; and though Mr. Harrod<sup>1</sup> and Mr. Spurdens,<sup>2</sup> who have given the subject much attention, are desirous of making him English, I yet think that when we consider how general was the custom of the Norman kings to confer position and wealth upon their followers, the probabilities are in favour of his being Norman. He is said to have come from Normandy with William Rufus, and to have purchased the see of Thetford for £1,900, and the abbacy of Winchester for £1,000, which he gave to his father, Robert de Losinga; and for which acts he was cited before the pope at Rome (1093), sentenced to lose his staff and ring, and *ordered* to build certain churches and monasteries as a penance.

Bale<sup>3</sup> says: "First he was here in England, by fryndeshyp made abbot of Ramseye, and afterwards made byshop

<sup>1</sup> *Gleanings among the Castles and Convents of Norfolk*. Norwich, 1857. 8vo.; p. 238.

<sup>2</sup> *Norfolk Archæology*, vol. iii, p. 145.

<sup>3</sup> *English Votaries*, fol. 44.

of Thetforde by flattery, and at payment, in the year of our lorde 1091; for the which he is named in the chronicles to this day, the 'kyndeling match of simony,' and that noteth him no small doar in that feate." Hence the cause of the translation of the see of Thetford to Norwich, and the origin of this cathedral.

It would appear that the bishop was systematical in his arrangements for building his new cathedral, for he not only obtained a regular transfer of the church of St. Michael, Tombland, together with its cemetery, but he also purchased a piece of meadow land called the Cowholm.<sup>1</sup> Thus provided with a site, he laid the foundation-stone of the new cathedral in the year 1096, and dedicated it to the Holy Trinity; and it soon after became the mother church of Norfolk and Suffolk, with the sanction of pope Pascal. It would seem also, by some wills dating about the sixteenth century, to have been known by the name of Christ Church.

In five years we find the cathedral, palace, and other offices, sufficiently advanced to receive sixty monks. These were of the Benedictine order. The foundation deed was signed in 1101, and a more rigid discipline commenced, for the bishop not only attempted to suppress marriage among his priests, but also to divorce those who were already married. This was ill received, and created much opposition. Fuller remarks, the "obstinate clergy would keep their wives in defiance of his endeavours against them."<sup>2</sup> Thus the bond of peace between the regular monks and the pastoral clergy was broken, and continued dissevered for some years. Notwithstanding the apparently rapid progress of the works, bishop Herbert appears to have been dissatisfied, for in his fourteenth epistle<sup>3</sup> he commands Kigulfus, Willelmus, and Stanus ("*appares*"<sup>4</sup>) to be more active in the prosecution of the works. "*Languet opus, et in apparandis materiis nullus vester apparet fervor. Ecce regis et mei ministri fervent in operibus*

<sup>1</sup> The name implies pasture surrounded by water. St. Bennet's abbey is said to have been built on a similar position; and I believe I am correct in stating that when the north-west tower of Canterbury cathedral was rebuilt by the late Mr. Austen, the skeletons of an ox and a man were found about the foundations.

<sup>2</sup> Church History of Britain, book iii, cent. xii, sect. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Epistolæ Herberti de Losinga; ed. R. Anstruther. Bruxelles; Svo., 1846.

<sup>4</sup> Vicarii.

suis; lapides colligunt, collectos afferunt, campos et plateas, domos et curias implent; et vos torpetis, et concertis digitis ingelati negligentie brumæ, vili otio difficilis prævaricatores." According to Godwin,<sup>1</sup> he endowed his church with "greate landes" and possessions, books, and all other necessities, built himself a house, and five other churches. These works, with the addition of a voyage to Rome, seem to have brought his career to a close, as he resigned his see, and also his life, July 22nd, 1119, after presiding as bishop twenty-eight years.

History does not accurately specify how much of the cathedral was built in Herbert's time, yet Blomefield assigns to him the choir,<sup>2</sup> the aisles, the tower, and two transepts. To bishop Eborard, his successor, the nave and its two aisles, from the ante-choir, or rood-loft door, to the west end. A portion of the ancient colours still remains about the springing of the arches of the new entrance to the cloister. The building is supposed to have remained in the same state till the year 1171, when some damage, caused by fire, occasioned a restoration by John de Oxford (*temp.* Richard I), 1197.

It is reported that, upon St. Michael's Tombland being removed, the precincts of the cathedral were surrounded by a lofty wall. This appears to have been rendered necessary by the frequent disputes between the monks and the citizens, of which an account is given in the *Saxon Chronicle*.

The Lady chapel, which formerly existed at the east end, is ascribed to Walter de Suffield, the tenth bishop *temp.* Henry III (1244), who, though not canonized as a saint, according to ecclesiastical law, was renowned for his good deeds; and Blomefield, in his *History of Norwich*, tells us that he had a noble shrine over his grave, much visited by pilgrims, and at which many miracles were wrought.

Cotton, in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra* (vol. i, p. 407), relates that on the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, the tower of the cathedral was struck by "claps of thunder", and the monks, who were then "singing prime", fled panic struck from the choir. This event seems only to have been the forerunner of more evil, for in August 1272 (at the end of Henry III's reign), the commons of the city, after continual dissensions with the monks, attacked the monastery

<sup>1</sup> De Præsulibus.

<sup>2</sup> See plates 1 and 2, pp. 21-22, *ante*.



on all sides, and after overcoming the resistance offered by the then prior, William de Brunham, burnt down the great gate of the close, St. Albert's church, that stood near, with all the books, etc., that it contained. The almonry and church door were next fired; and it is said that the people threw fire with slings, and thus destroyed the great belfry beyond the choir; so that the whole of the church was burnt, all but the Virgin Mary chapel, which was miraculously preserved.

Accounts of this transaction are given by Cotton and Blomefield; but a more lengthened and circumstantial account will be found in one of the books put forth by the Camden Society, under the able editorship of the late Thomas Stapleton, esq., V.P.S.A.,<sup>1</sup> and a translation of which will be found in Mr. Harrod's *Gleanings* (pp. 250-253). Cotton confirms this account of the chronicler, so far as concerns the details of the damage done by the fire and the attack by the citizens, but does not refer to any supposed provocation on the part of the monks.

If this statement concerning the extent of the destruction be correct, viz., that all that was capable of being destroyed by fire was reduced to ashes, we must assume that the roofs must have been burnt in their position, and only fallen in a state of charred embers, as in that case the walls near to, or in immediate connexion with them, would alone suffer; for on the one hand I cannot discover that the lower portion of the building has been damaged to any appreciable extent by fire; nor on the other am I disposed to believe that the quantity of combustible material likely to be used in a structure of this description could, in the burning, so destroy such masses of masonry as to make it necessary to rebuild it entirely. I therefore incline to the opinion that the roofs burnt as I have stated, and that such slight injury as might have been done to the lower parts by the fire was removed by scraping or redressing the stone.

Hostilities between the monks and the citizens, however, continued for two years after (1274). We find the matter of dispute referred to the king and to the pope:

<sup>1</sup> De Antiquis Legibus Liber. Cronica Maiorum et Vice Comitum Londoniarum, etc.: Lond., 1846, 4to. Nota de Subito Igne in Norwich: fol., 130, 131, pp. 144-148.

the latter, however, allowed its decision to rest with the English monarch, Edward I, who decreed—"That all parties must be friends. That the citizens should pay six thousand marks to rebuild the church, at the rate of five hundred marks a year. That they should give to the use of the church a pix, or cup, weighing ten pounds in gold, and worth £100 in money, to serve at the sacrament of the high altar of the cathedral. That they might make new gates and entrances into their monastery, and go in and out of them whenever they pleased, into any part of the city, so that they injured no man's property. That at their own charge they should send some of the chief of the citizens to Rome to assure the pope of the truth of the agreement, and humbly beg his pardon and peace."

The cathedral was restored by the year 1278; and on Advent Sunday in that year, William de Middleton was enthroned and consecrated in the presence of Edward I, his queen, the bishops of London, Hereford, and Waterford, and many other nobles who had contributed towards the restoration of the church.

The tower having been again partly destroyed by fire, a new one is said to have been begun and finished by Ralph de Walpole. It is, however, more probable that the tower was only repaired and the spire reconstructed. Bishop Walpole governed from 1289 to 1299, and two years before his death commenced the cloister at the north-east angle, and built the chapter house. This was commemorated by a stone inscribed "*Dominus Radulfus Walpole Norwicensis episcopus me posuit.*" It appears also that the builder, Richard Uppenhall, having added three more arches on the same side, had a little inscription for his work. The north walk attached to the wall of the church was erected by master Henry de Well, and cost him two hundred and ten marks. £20 were also given by John de Hancock. The doorway to the church, at the north-west angle of the cloister, as well as some portion of the cloister, was built in the time of bishop Wakeryng, 1416 (*temp.* Henry V). The remainder of the cloister leading to the lavatories, was built, at the cost of £100, by Jeffery Simonds, rector of St. Mary in the Marsh. Walter de Burney, citizen of Norwich, gave £100 and much iron work for the glazing of the cloister (1302). From the

armorial bearings on some of these windows Blomefield presumes that the remaining portions of the cloister were terminated by the families of Morley, Shelton, Scales, Erpingham, and others. This cloister was completed one hundred and thirty-three years after the commencement of the cathedral, and when William Alnwick was bishop, A.D. 1430.

In 1316, according to Blomefield, the steeple was blown down, and the choir much damaged. Bishop Percy advanced £400 to repair the injury, and was assisted to the extent of 9*d.* in the pound by his clergy, by which they were enabled to *repair* or *rebuild* the fallen tower and add the present spire. In 1463 it was injured by lightning, and repaired by bishop Lyhart, to whom is ascribed the stone roof of the nave, and an altar tomb to the founder. Bishop Goldwell, who succeeded, caused the stone roof over the choir to be constructed, adding windows and flying buttresses; and bishop Nix completed the work by erecting a stone roof over the north and south transepts.

Thus have I traced the dates, and distinguished those to which the various parts of the building are attributed. I think we cannot but be struck with the decline of the Norman style in the upper parts of the tower and in other restored portions, in spite of the obvious attempts made to retain it.

Our attention has been directed to a circular opening in the stone roof of the nave of the cathedral. I have carefully examined this opening from inside the roof. It is 2 feet 6 inches diameter, and rebated on the upper side. The ties, or collar-beams, of two of the principals are 4 feet in height from the crown of the arch, and have been cut away. I failed to discover any traces of machinery having been fixed either to the timbers of the roof or the masonry. This might not have been the original roof, as a fire occurred in 1801. It commenced at the west end of the nave, and destroyed some of the woodwork. I could not perceive any marks of cords or chains having passed through the opening, which would inevitably have existed if they had come in contact with the soft stone.

If a man habited as an angel were ever let down through this hole, as Mr. Harrod supposes,<sup>1</sup> I can only conceive

<sup>1</sup> See p. 23 *ante*.



that the first experiment was found to be a failure, and never repeated, as from the great length of the ropes or chains (173 feet), and the want of space to have them far enough apart, as in a swing, nothing could prevent the man or angel from turning round and frequently approaching the rood backwards, which would scarcely be considered convenient under the circumstances. This taken in conjunction with the fact that from the proportion the height of the nave bears to the length between the west end and the nearest position in which the rood could have been placed, rendering it impossible that any man or censer so swung could approach the rood within seventy-five feet, inclines me to the opinion that this opening was formed to facilitate the adjustment of a chandelier, or the like, which might have served the congregation assembled round the pulpit, which the marks on one of the columns shows to have been placed near this spot ; or, what is also possible, for hauling up materials to construct or repair the roof. But whatever might have been its object, I can find no sign of its having ever been used.

---

In the course of discussion which the examination of the opening in the summit of the nave produced among the members, it was stated by the rev. James Bulwer that he had once, in a Catholic church, seen a man, on the occasion of a festival, shovelling down broom leaves from such a hole as that to which their attention had been drawn ; and on another occasion he had seen rose leaves scattered down. One of these was in the island of Madeira, the other in Lisbon. The rev. Dr. Husenbeth has also acquainted the Association that, in the middle ages, in France—and most probably in England—a ceremony prevailed, on Whitsunday, which was, that as soon as the choir intoned the prose, *Veni, Sancte Spiritus*, trumpets were sounded to indicate the noise as of a violent wind ; and at the same time were let down, through the roof, sparks of fire (probably made of gilt paper) mixed with flowers, but principally rose leaves.—such as Mr. Bulwer saw,—and finally doves were let fly about the church, emblematic of the Holy Spirit.



## ON SACRAMENTAL FONTS IN NORFOLK.

BY THE VERY REV. F. C. HUSENBETH, D.D.

THE term "sacramental fonts" may be used to designate those baptismal fonts in old churches, which are ornamented with sculptures of the seven sacraments of the Catholic church. These occupy seven sides of an octagonal font, the eighth being devoted to some other subject, which is frequently the crucifixion of our Lord. Of these fonts there are several remaining in Norfolk. The present paper will be devoted to the most remarkable. Some of these have few or no figures besides those representing the sacraments, others are more profusely ornamented. Of the first kind are the fonts at Binham, Burgh, near Aylsham, Loddon, Marsham, Sloley, and Little Walsingham; of the second, those of Brooke, Sall, Great Witchingham, and Norwich cathedral.

It is easy to perceive the reason for preferring the subject of the seven sacraments for the decoration of fonts in churches. The font was set apart for the administration of baptism, the first of the sacraments, for which reason it was invariably placed near the entrance of the church. As baptism was thus the foundation of the other sacraments, it was appropriate to represent the sacraments on its several compartments. Moreover, the font was usually of the octagonal form; and thus seven of its sides could be occupied by the seven sacraments; and where the crucifixion filled up the eighth, it was symbolical of all the sacraments deriving their efficacy from the precious blood of our crucified Saviour.

It is curious, however, to observe the diversity of arrangement on these fonts. The proper order of the sacraments is this: baptism, confirmation, holy eucharist, penance, extreme unction, holy order, and matrimony. But in the ten examples of sacramental fonts now under consideration, this order is not followed in a single instance. What is more remarkable is that no two of them agree in their arrangement. All that we can infer from this diversity is that the artists who designed these fonts, if they followed any method at all, were guided by the subjects

represented, or their own mode of expressing them, and placed them where they would best correspond, on opposite sides of the font. Even this is not easy to establish, though in examining these sculptures one may, in some cases, imagine it, as on the font at Loddon, where holy order and confirmation appear on opposite sides, each requiring the introduction of a bishop. In four other instances, on the fountains at Binham, Brooke, Loddon, and Great Witchingham, the sacraments of baptism and extreme unction appear on opposite sides, as if to indicate that they are respectively the first and last received.

In three examples, at Brooke, Loddon, and Marsham, the holy eucharist, represented by a priest saying mass, appears most appropriately at the east end of the font nearest, of course, to the altars in the church. But we are hardly warranted in attributing even these arrangements to any regular design and purpose.

It has been already observed that the eighth compartment was frequently filled with a representation of our Saviour on the cross. This is the case on the fountains at Brooke, Burgh, Little Walsingham, Sall, and Norwich, in the cathedral; but at Burgh, St. Francis is introduced in front of the crucifix. At Binham and Sloley the eighth compartment has the appropriate subject of the baptism of our Saviour by St. John. At Loddon the blessed Virgin Mary is represented with the holy infant Jesus; and at Great Witchingham, in the glory of her assumption. At Marsham the eighth panel represents the last judgment, where men must render an account of their good or evil reception of the sacraments. There seems to have been little or no rule for the place of the eighth compartment. One font has it north-west, another south-west. In three examples it is east, but in five others west, which, therefore, would seem to have been the situation most preferred.

The mode of representing the administration of the sacraments does not admit of great variety: it may therefore suffice to point out some more remarkable examples. On the fountains at Marsham and Great Witchingham the sculptures are very similar; but at Marsham they were neither coloured nor gilt, whereas at Great Witchingham they still retain much of their original colouring and gilding. The figures here are in very bold relief, and are

thrown out with strong effect from backgrounds deeply coloured red or blue. In the representation of baptism an acolyte holds the book of the ritual, on which are still legible some remains of the words "*baptizo te in nomine Patris.*" On the font at Brooke the representation of the holy eucharist is spirited and remarkable. A priest is elevating the chalice at mass; he is vested in a red chasuble with golden orphrey, and a greenish alb with golden apparel. On his right an acolyte, kneeling, pulls the rope of the sanctus bell with one hand, and holds the priest's chasuble with the other. Another acolyte, on his left, holds the chasuble with one hand, and extends the other in adoration.

The sacrament of penance is represented on the font at Great Witchingham by a design extremely beautiful, curious, and well preserved. The priest is seated in a chair with railed sides; the penitent kneels at a low desk before him, resting her hands on a green cushion laid upon it. An angel presents her, spreading his wings very widely over her, and partly over the priest. But the most ingenious feature in the representation is the introduction of the devil, coloured dark brown, with horns and a long tail, who is going off through a small door, cast out and confounded.

At Brooke the sacrament of extreme unction is represented by a priest anointing a sick person lying on a bed, and an acolyte holds the vessel with the holy oil; the head of another figure appears at the upper part of the bed. The ritual lies open upon the bed. On the same font the sacrament of holy order is shown by a bishop vested in tunic, dalmatic, and cope, wearing his mitre and holding his crozier, who lays his right hand on a deacon, whom he ordains priest, and who wears a red chasuble. A subdeacon kneels on the left, who is to be ordained deacon, and wears a red dalmatic. Two attendants are behind, one in an almuce (probably the archdeacon), who presents the candidates for ordination.

In the representation of the sacrament of matrimony on the font at Great Witchingham, it is remarkable that the priest wears the stole crossed, and coloured green. In the same at Brooke the stole is not crossed, and a female stands behind the bride, holding on her arm a red veil, probably



intended for the pall, which was held over the newly married couple from the *Sanctus* in the mass till the conclusion of the nuptial benediction after the *Pater noster*. It is remarkable how well the most striking features of each ceremonial have been seized in these sculptures, which were of necessity limited to very few figures.

The fountains at Loddon and Marsham have figures round their shafts; but those at Loddon are small and too much defaced to be identified. At Marsham the effigies of the four evangelists appear alternately with their emblems. At Little Walsingham there are the evangelists alternately with the four Latin doctors of the church. At Binham, the shaft of the font is surrounded with apostles.

We come now to those sacramental fountains which are more elaborately adorned with emblems and figures, those of Brooke, Sall, Great Witchingham, and Norwich cathedral. The fountain at Brooke has very beautiful figures sculptured round the shaft. Beginning with the east side: the figure here is much mutilated; but it was most probably St. Thomas of Canterbury. Proceeding south, we have next St. John with a clasped book, shut, in one hand, and a roll of paper in the other. The angel above him holds what looks like a cup with a palm branch rising out of it, but which, from its similarity to an emblem on another fountain, I take to be meant for a candlestick with a candle. It can hardly be the usual cup and serpent, as the upper part appears too straight. Next appears a king, who, I have no doubt, is St. Edward the Martyr, for he seems to hold a cup in his left hand; his right hand is quite defaced, but evidently held something, which may have been a dagger. Next comes St. Mark with a scroll: the angel above him holds a round dish, which, from the fragment left, I believe held the head of St. John Baptist. The west compartment has St. Peter holding one key: on a scroll held by the angel above him there was an inscription, but nothing is now left but a Lombardic letter B. Next follows St. Matthew, and above him an angel holds the book of his gospel open, with faint traces of writing. Then we have St. Edmund, king and martyr, holding an arrow and a bunch of cords. St. Luke follows, with a scroll, the inscription not legible. The angel above him holds a model of the house of the blessed Virgin Mary at



Nazareth. Each angel wears an angelic crown surmounted by a cross patée.

The font at Sall is more elaborate. Below the octagonal compartments are angels holding emblems corresponding with the subjects above. Under *baptism* a casket with the holy oils; *confirmation*, a mitre; *holy eucharist*, an altar stone; *penance*, a rod; *extreme unction*, a soul represented by a little figure rising up from a corpse cloth; *holy order*, a chalice; *matrimony*, a guitar; the *crucifixion*, an angel in the attitude of adoration. Below these, and attached to the columns of the shaft, are the four evangelists alternately with their emblems.

The arrangement of the figures round the shaft of the font at Great Witchingham is peculiar. Under each of the compartments is an angel, alternately with one of the four living creatures, symbols of the evangelists. All bear scrolls, the angels holding the names of the four Latin doctors of the church, and the living creatures the names of the evangelists whom they represent. Below these are figures of saints James the Great, Thomas of Canterbury, Peter, Catherine, Agnes (or perhaps Barbara), Mary Magdalen, and another without any emblem, and also the crucifixion. At each angle, and on a line with the angels and living creatures, are busts of kings with crowns and ermined robes.

The very curious font now standing in Norwich cathedral belonged to the neighbouring church of St. Mary in the Marsh, long since demolished. In its arrangement it somewhat resembles the font just described, but it is more ornamented, and its details are much more curious. Its eight sides contain sculptures of the seven sacraments and the crucifixion. At the angles between are eight of the nine orders of the celestial hierarchy: between penance and confirmation, an *archangel* with the sun or a star on his breast; the next three are too much defaced to be made out; between the crucifixion and extreme unction an angel is scourging a devil held in a chain, which represents the angelic order of the *powers*; an angel comes next with a thurible to represent the *cherubim*; and lastly one holding organ-pipes, for the order of *angels*.

Under each compartment is an angel holding some emblem of the subject represented above: thus, for *baptism*,

a candle in a candlestick ; *confirmation*, a vessel for holy chrism ; *holy eucharist*, a remonstrance ; *penance*, an open book ; *extreme unction*, a corpse cloth, from which there arose a little figure of the soul ; *holy order*, a dish with a vessel, probably meant for the holy chrism ; *matrimony*, a guitar ; the *crucifixion*, a book with, apparently, a lamb upon it. At the angles again, and below the angelic figures, are the four living creatures alternately with seated figures, each with a book, representing the evangelists. There are figures again below, corresponding with the compartments of the font, representing St. Giles, St. Leonard, St. Thomas of Canterbury, and four bishops and an abbot without any emblems.

This font probably surpasses every other remaining. When perfect it was exquisite ; even now, in its decay, it is grand and venerable. Of all decorations those are preferable which are symbolical and full of instruction ; and the ornaments of these sacramental fonts fully answer these characters. It is marvellous that so many still remain so well preserved,—a few even with colours still fresh, and gilding yet brilliant.

---

## ON THE CHANCERY OF MONMOUTH.

BY THOMAS WAKEMAN, ESQ., F.S.A.

I HAVE the pleasure of laying before the Association an impression of the seal of the chancery of Monmouth (see plate 3, fig. 1), taken from the original matrix, which some years ago was fished up out of the river Wye by a poor man, who sold it to a country clock-maker for a shilling. In his possession, for some time it did duty as the bob of a pendulum, until accidentally discovered by a friend of mine, who rescued it from its ignominious situation, and very kindly made me a present of it. Its adventurous wanderings were not, however, yet brought to a close. It remained with my friend until I should call for it, which circumstances prevented my doing for some time, and in the interval it was borrowed by a gentleman whose











Fig. 2.



name it is unnecessary to mention ; but the consequence was that it never reached my hands till about two years after it had become my property. In the mean time, as it turned out, it had been sent to London, where, by mere accident, I discovered it, and after a considerable delay have recovered it. I will make no further observation on the matter than to express my conviction that the members of the Archæological Institute were entirely ignorant that this interesting article had been sent to them without the knowledge or consent of the owner, and therefore make no complaint of their having given an engraving of it in their journal for March 1857,<sup>1</sup> No. 53.

The matrix, which is of brass, extremely well engraved, as is evident from the impression, is quite perfect, with the exception that three of the four ears by which it was originally fitted to the counter-seal have been broken off, probably by its quondam owner, the clock-maker, the better to adapt it to the purpose to which he had applied it. The matrix of the counter-seal is lost ; but I am fortunately enabled to lay before you a copy of the impression of it (see plate 3, fig. 2) from the seals of two documents in the possession of my friend, John Arthur Herbert, esq., of Llanarth, which are evidently from the identical matrix now in my possession. It is simply the arms of the duchy of Lancaster, of which the lordship of Monmouth is a part. The inscription is unfortunately illegible, owing to the seals in both instances having been chipped at the edges ; otherwise it might have determined the question as to which of the English monarchs of the name of Edward it belonged. The legend on the obverse is, S : Edwardi : di : gra : reg : Angl : ꝛ : Francie : cancellarie : sue : de : Monemouth. I understand, from the *Archæological Journal* of the Institute it is appropriated to Edward IV ;<sup>2</sup> but I am not aware of the reasons for so doing, and in the absence of any direct evidence I am rather inclined to assign it to Edward VI.

The two documents above referred to, and to which impressions of this seal are attached, bear date respectively in the 16th and 36th of queen Elizabeth, a century after the reign of Edward IV ; and it does appear to me as unlikely that the same seal should have continued in use

<sup>1</sup> Vol. xiv, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

during all those years, and through all the intermediate reigns, without any alteration. I think it more likely to have been of the time of Edward VI, and that his sisters might not think it worth while to go to the expense of altering it,—the more especially as the rights, privileges, and authority of the lords marchers had been considerably curtailed by the acts of parliament of Henry VIII; and of those jurisdictions that remained to them, many were rapidly falling into disuse.

In the discussions to which the discovery of this seal has given rise, it appears to have been altogether forgotten that three or four centuries ago, an Englishman journeying into the western parts, then called the marches of Wales, would, on arriving a short distance west of Gloucester, find himself, as far as laws and customs went, in a foreign land. The lordships marchers, of which Monmouth was one, were subject to the absolute sovereignty of their respective lords exercising a palatinate jurisdiction, each of whom had his own courts, modelled after those at Westminster; and out of their chanceries issued all writs original and judicial. The king's writs did not run in the marches, nor could the crown officers execute any such writs or precepts within these precincts, unless the whole barony was in question, or in cases of high treason. The chancery of Monmouth was only one among many, and had no connexion whatever with the duchy of Lancaster, except the accidental one that the lordship marcher of Monmouth is parcel of the duchy, and that the sovereign for the time being, when this seal was in use, was, as duke of Lancaster, the lord of Monmouth. It is not at all surprising that the officers of the duchy should have been unable to afford any information on the subject. Every other lord marcher had his chancery and chancery seal as well as Monmouth, under which they issued their letters patent of grants of land, appointments to offices, pardons for offences, and, in short, all such documents as in England were issued under the king's great seal.

Many documents under the chancery seals of different lordships marcher are still in existence; but few, perhaps, retain their seals entire. By the favour of my before mentioned friend, Mr. Herbert, I am enabled to lay before the Association a copy of the seal and counter-seal of the



chancery of Abergavenny. (See plate 4, figs. 1, 2.) The original is appended to letters patent of Jasper Tudor, duke of Bedford, etc., and lord of Abergavenny, whereby he granted certain lands to one Howel ap Gwilym ap David Griffith. It commences in the usual grandiloquent style of that nobleman: "Jasper frater et patruus regum dux Bedfordie, comes Pembrochie et dominus de Bergevenny"; and ends thus, "In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Dat' apud Bergevenny sub sigillo *cancellarie* nostri dominij ibidem decimo die Octobris anno regni regis Henrici septi' post conquestum octavo"—which was 1492.

The seals of the chanceries of other lordships marcher are very frequently referred to in the records of these little palatinates. I am not at present enabled to produce specimens of any others; but in illustration of the preceding observations as to their use, I may mention the following instances. About the year 1384 (unfortunately the precise date is illegible) the attorney-general of Hugh earl of Stafford, lord of the extensive lordship marcher of Wentllwch and Newport, commenced proceedings in the nature of a *quo warranto*, in the earl's court of Newport, against the abbot of St. Peter's, at Gloucester, touching certain lands in St. Wollos. The cause went to trial, and was eventually decided in favour of the abbot, who thereupon obtained an exemplification of the whole pleadings, verdict, and final judgment, under the great seal of the chancery of Newport, to be deposited in the archives of his monastery. It ends in these words: "In cujus testimonium sigillum cancellarie de Newport est appensum. Dat' die et loco supradictis." This document (for a copy of which I am indebted to sir Thos. Phillipps, bart.) is extremely curious, and is perhaps the only one extant of that early date showing the mode of proceeding in these courts from the commencement of a suit to its termination. The same Hugh earl of Stafford granted a charter to the burgesses of his town of Newport, in the 8th Rich. II, ending in these words, "In cujus rei testimonium huic presenti carte tam sigillum armorium nostrorum quam *sigillum cancellarie nostri de Newport* fecimus apponi." His grandson, Humphry, renewed and confirmed this charter on the 3rd April (5th Henry VI), and concluded his grant in the same words. The seals of both are unfortunately broken off.

In the same lordship the sheriff, constable of the castle, and other great officers, are expressly stated in the records to hold their offices by letters patent under the lord's *great seal*. On the 5th May (8th Henry VI), 1430, earl Humphry, by letters patent under his *great seal*, granted an annuity of ten marks to one Robert Whitgrene for his life.

On 8th July (14th Henry VI) Richard duke of York, lord of Usk, etc., by letters patent appointed John ap Howell master forester and keeper of the forest or chase of Wyeswood. Among the witnesses were sir William ap Thomas, then steward, and Thos. Whitegrove, chancellor of Usk, etc.

A friend informs me that he has seen a document with the seal of the chancery of Chepstow attached, of which I hope to obtain a cast. Sufficient has, however, been said to show that the chancery of Monmouth was not a singular institution peculiar to that lordship, but common to all other lordship marchers; and that the seal which gave rise to these observations, although curious from its history and as a work of art, has nothing very extraordinary about it.

#### REFERENCES TO PLATES.

##### PLATE 3.

Fig. 1.—Armed figure on horseback. Shield and caparisons of horse; three lions passant guardant; a label of three points charged with fleur-de-lys. The ground of the shield diapered with suns and roses. No crest on the helmet; but the wreath end mantling only.

— 2.—Shield of arms. England; a label of three points; ground diapered with suns and roses, as above.

##### PLATE 4.

— 1.—Armed figure on horseback. Shield; France and England quarterly, in a border. The horse trappings powdered with ermine. The crest, a wyvern. The ground of seal, *semée*, of broom-pods.

— 2.—Shield of arms; France and England quarterly, in a border, *gobonnée* (?), supported on the dexter side by a dragon, and on the sinister by a wolf (?), and surmounted by a cap of estate doubled ermine and surrounded by a coronet of strawberry leaves.

# British Archaeological Association.

## FOURTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING, NORWICH, 1857.

AUGUST 24TH TO 29TH INCLUSIVE.

---

### PATRONS.

THE EARL OF LEICESTER, *Lord Lieutenant of the County of Norfolk.*  
THE HON. AND RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF NORWICH.

---

### PRESIDENT.

THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE, F.S.A.

---

### VICE-PRESIDENTS.

THE MAYOR OF NORWICH (R. Chamberlin, Esq.)  
THE MAYOR OF YARMOUTH (C. C. Aldred, Esq.)  
SIR SAMUEL BIGNOLD, KNT.  
SIR JOHN P. BOILEAU, BART, F.R.S., F.S.A., President of the Norfolk and  
Norwich Archæological Society.  
THE VENERABLE W. A. BOUVERIE, B.D., Archdeacon of Norfolk.  
THOMAS BRIGHTWEN, ESQ.  
REV. JAMES BULWER, M.A.  
VISCOUNT BURY, M.P.  
SIR EDWARD N. BUXTON, BART., M.P.  
BENJAMIN BOND CABBELL, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A.  
SIR FORTUNATUS DWARRIS, F.R.S., F.S.A.  
THE EARL OF EUSTON, M.P.  
SIR WM. J. H. BROWNE FFOLKES, BART., F.R.S., F.S.A.  
GEORGE GODWIN, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A.  
REV. JOHN GUNN, M.A.  
DANIEL GURNEY, ESQ., F.S.A.  
HUDSON GURNEY, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A.  
JOHN HENRY GURNEY, ESQ., M.P.  
JAMES HEYWOOD, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A.  
REV. GEO. HILLS, B.D., Canon of Norwich.  
SIR WILLOUGHBY JONES, BART.  
HON. AND REV. EDWARD S. KEPPEL, M.A.  
HON. AND REV. THOMAS R. KEPPEL, M.A.  
THOMAS WM. KING, ESQ., F.S.A., York Herald  
SIR EDMUND H. K. LACON, BART.  
JOHN LEE, ESQ., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.

MAJOR J. ARTHUR MOORE, F.R.S.

CHARLES JOHN PALMER, Esq., F.S.A.

VERY REV. GEORGE PEACOCK, D.D., Dean of Ely.

THE HON. AND VERY REV. GEORGE PELLEW, D.D., Dean of Norwich.

SIR S. MORTON PETO, BART.

THOMAS JOSEPH PETTIGREW, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.

H. W. SCHNEIDER, Esq., M.P.

SAMUEL R. SOLLY, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.

LORD STANLEY, M.P.

SIR HENRY STRACEY, BART.

REV. JAMES LEE WARNER, M.A.

SIR J. GARDNER WILKINSON, D.C.L., F.R.S.

MAJOR GENERAL CHARLES A. WINDHAM, C.B., M.P.

*Treasurer*—THOMAS JOSEPH PETTIGREW, Esq., F.R.S. F.S.A.

*Honorary Secretaries* { J. R. PLANCHÉ, Esq., Rouge Croix.  
H. SYER CUMING, Esq.

*Secretary for Foreign Correspondence*—WILLIAM BEATTIE, M.D.

*Palaeographer*—W. H. BLACK, Esq.

*Curator and Librarian*—G. R. WRIGHT, Esq., F.S.A.

*Draughtsman*—H. C. PIDGEON, Esq.

#### LOCAL DIRECTORS.

*Norwich*—ROBERT FITCH, Esq.

W. C. EWING, Esq.

*Lynn*—A. H. SWATMAN, Esq.

*Great Yarmouth*—C. J. PALMER, Esq., F.S.A.

#### GENERAL COMMITTEE.

George G. Adams, Esq.

George Ade, Esq.

Charles Ainslie, Esq.

John Alger, Esq.

John Barrow, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.

H. H. Burnell, Esq.

George A. Cape, Jun., Esq.

Rev. W. J. Spring Casborne.

Charles Cory, Esq.

Charles Curle, Esq.

C. E. Davis, Esq., F.S.A.

C. A. Elliott, Esq.

Nathaniel Gould, Esq., F.S.A.

Roger Horman-Fisher, Esq.

Jas. O. Halliwell, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.

George Vere Irving, Esq.

W. C. Marshall, Esq., R.A.

William Meyrick, Esq.

Alfred W. Morant, Esq.

Wm. C. Reynolds, Esq.

David Roberts, Esq., R.A.

Alfred Thompson, Esq.

William Wansey, Esq., F.S.A.

Thomas Wakeman, Esq.

Charles Whiting, Esq.

Albert Woods, Esq., F.S.A., *Lancaster Herald*.

Thomas Woolley, Esq.

Francis Worship, Esq.

William Yewd, Esq.



## Proceedings of the Congress.

---

THE proceedings commenced by the sitting of the general committee at the Guild Hall, where members and visitors were received, and entered their names. The attendance was numerous; and at 3 P.M. the mayor, sheriff, and other members of the corporation of Norwich, arrived to welcome the Association. R. CHAMBERLIN, esq., the mayor of Norwich, took the chair in the council room of the Guild Hall, and remarked that he felt it a great honour to receive so distinguished an assemblage in the ancient city, and had only to regret that recent domestic calamities prevented him from taking a more active part in the proceedings, and exercising towards the Association the hospitalities he should have been so happy to have offered.

Mr. PETTIGREW rose and said that, in the absence of the noble lord, the earl of Perth and Melfort, who, for the two past years had filled the office of president, the duty devolved upon him to introduce to the meeting the newly-elected president, the earl of Albemarle. He was sure they must all feel great satisfaction on seeing in the chair of their institution a nobleman so distinguished by talents and various merits. He had happily enjoyed a long acquaintance and friendship with his lordship, and he felt assured of the advantages which would be derived from his lordship's connexion with the British Archæological Association. They had a great deal of business before them, and therefore it was necessary to be brief; but he could not sit down without mentioning the kind manner in which they had been received by the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, whose cooperation was, of course, of the utmost importance.

THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE having taken the chair, said: Ladies and gentlemen,—Shakespeare says that each man, in his time, plays many parts; and as a resident amongst you, it has been my fate on more than one occasion to take part in the public proceedings to which our excellent chief magistrate has given the favour of his countenance. No one can more deeply regret than I do the circumstances that prevent my excellent friend, his worship, from doing on this occasion that which I

know his public spirit, on this his second mayoralty, prompts him to perform. My old friend, Mr. Pettigrew, has very properly hinted at the necessity of brevity. I willingly avail myself of that hint for the very simple reason that I have not much to say. Although I have F.S.A. at the end of my name, and am a humble admirer of the science of archæology, my experience has not been in the department in which those gentlemen who have done us the honour of paying us this visit from London are more particularly concerned. My researches have gone into a somewhat more ancient inquiry, as I was personally, at one period of my life, occupied in examining the ruins of the most ancient city in the world,—the city that was built when all the world was of one speech. Like many whom I have the honour of addressing, I am just now a listener and not an orator; but I take the liberty of expressing the gratification I have in lending such influence as the name and presence of a resident in the county, and one pretty well known in it, may be supposed to have,—and in that alone can I have any claim to your notice. My learned friend, Mr. Pettigrew, was, in these matters, my first master. I was a tyro under his auspices, and he was the first to set me about those antiquarian researches in which I have said I was once engaged. He is an excellent archæologist; and I do feel that we ought to be extremely obliged to these gentlemen for coming from such a distance to explore our county. On the principle that, as the mountain could not go to Mahomet, Mahomet had to go the mountain, so Mr. Pettigrew and the Association have come here to make their researches in Norfolk. I must also express my grateful sense of the very excellent and praiseworthy conduct of our worthy friend, and your most excellent neighbour, sir John Boileau, bart., as president of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, and also of the other members of that society, in having waived their high position here, and given me the rank of president over them for a time. I hope sir John will favour us, in the course of the proceedings, with some of those observations which his local knowledge so well enables him to give.

SIR J. P. BOILEAU said he did not feel that that was the moment, even if he were able to do so, in which he should presume to offer any remarks on the general or the particular antiquarian features of the county. The only duty which he had now to perform was, as president of the Archæological Society of Norfolk, to offer a cordial greeting to the British Archæological Association of London. It was too true that either from the indolence which prevailed too generally, or from the neglect which was accustomed to follow familiarity, those who lived in the midst of interesting objects were too apt to pass them over without sufficient attention: and sometimes, from a want of acquaintance with similar objects which existed elsewhere, they were unable to generalize, or to form such correct views, as they would do if they had a more

enlarged knowledge; it was therefore a great advantage to any locality (and he was sure the archæologists of Norfolk felt it so on this occasion) to be visited by intelligent gentlemen from other parts of the country, who, with their fresh eyes and fresh interest, would be able to point out many things which had escaped their own observation; and if that would be a pleasure and a gratification under ordinary circumstances, how much more so must it be when the visitors comprised such gentlemen as Mr. Pettigrew and others, who had, by their incessant labours, by the largeness of their views, and by their careful writings, done so much to raise archæology from the low estimation in which it was formerly held to the rank of a science? All, therefore, who were present would, he was sure, be glad to offer their cordial congratulations to the Archæological Association, and to express a hope that those gentlemen would have an agreeable and instructive congress in their county.

The president then called upon Mr. Pettigrew to deliver the introductory paper, "On the Antiquities of Norfolk." (See pp. 1-29 *ante*.) On the motion of sir Fortunatus Dwaris, V.P., seconded by sir John Boileau, bart., a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Pettigrew for his paper; and the company, under the guidance of the president, dispersed for examination of the castle.

Having arrived at the entrance of the castle, Mr. FITCH made the following observations:

"I need hardly point out to you that the castle of Norwich was placed on the top of a lofty hill neither circular nor quadrangular in shape, but partaking a little of the character of each of those forms, and that it was surrounded by at least one large ditch, which is still apparent, and completely round it. You are probably aware that it has been for a long time believed that the castle was originally surrounded by three of these ditches, one encircling another; but that theory has been recently disputed, on very strong evidence, by Mr. Harrod in his *Gleanings among the Castles and Convents of Norfolk*. I am indebted to that gentleman for the loan of his plans,—one shewing the ditches as laid down by Mr. Wilkins, in 1795; and the other by himself, in conformity to early deeds, in 1853. (See woodcuts, pp. 12, 13 *ante*.) The original Shire-house stood in nearly a straight line with the bridge, in the centre of the space now used as a cattle market; and the buildings in the ditch surrounding it, and lying to the east of it, were in the 'castle fee' or 'bailey', under the jurisdiction of the constable of the castle; where stood the church of St. Martin-in-the-Bailey, and also the eighty unoccupied houses mentioned in *Domesday*.

"In our progress to this spot we have passed over the bridge, and between the bases of two circular Norman towers, and arrived at the level space originally occupied by the castle buildings. All these are now gone, except the Great Tower, the restoration of which *may have*



*been desirable,—it may have been absolutely necessary,—but the antiquary can no longer discover the features of his old friend under the mask of Bath stone with which it is now encased. I will not detain you longer here, but proceed to Bigod's Tower, merely remarking that, through the liberality of Mr. Hudson Gurney, the members will have the means of becoming acquainted with the usually received opinions of the early history of the castle.*

“BIGOD'S TOWER. The short space of time we have to devote to this building will not enable me to say much on the subject of it; but as we have the plans before us, it will be more useful to you to point out such parts as remain of ancient work, and leave you to judge of the validity of the different opinions expressed respecting portions of it. You will have heard that this keep, or great tower, in arrangement remarkably resembles that of Castle Rising, which, although smaller, is much more complete. At Rising, for instance, the main wall dividing the tower into two parts, is nearly entire. Here all trace of it is gone, except on the internal face of the west wall, which has the outline of it shown by modern brickwork. The great tower stands on the south-west part of the hill, the stairs of entrance, on the eastern side, being nearly opposite the way over the bridge. It is nearly square, being 92 feet by 96 feet, the greater length being from east to west. The walls were composed of stone from the nearest quarries (those of Northamptonshire) faced with Caen stone. The surface of the lower compartments, on the west and south sides of the exterior, was of faced flints,—which facing has entirely disappeared in the restoration,—and as it was not a mode of construction of the Norman period this peculiarity may fairly be put down to repairs two or three centuries later. The exterior appearance of this tower is so well known from engravings, and Mr. Woodward has given so minute and careful an account of it,<sup>1</sup> that I need do no more than state that the basement story was plain, and was, in his time, of common faced flint-work, with small loops at regular intervals; and above that, to the battlements, were a series of arcades of Norman arches of a plain and effective character. In the lower arcade, on the south side, a corbel stone, in the form of a lion's head, set very oddly in the third panel, puzzled Mr. Woodward and many others; but an inspection of the interior of the wall would have enlightened them on the subject. It is the vent of a drain from a small arched niche in the interior. The north side differs from the others in having six buttresses instead of five; and Mr. Woodward conjectures, with all probability, as a large hall occupied great part of that side of the tower, that it was original, and intended to give additional strength to the walls.

“To recur to these plans. It will be seen that both Norwich and Rising are entered through an eastern tower by a staircase extending

<sup>1</sup> History and Antiquities of Norwich Castle, pp. 13-17.



the whole of the eastern side. At Rising this is nearly in its original state: here, unfortunately, many repairs and alterations have taken place, and what is now presented to your view is but an approximation to what it must originally have been. In one respect the modern aspect differs entirely from the ancient; for whether the stair was at any point broken by a drawbridge, or only stopped once or twice by a portecullis, there can be no reasonable doubt that at the south side of the entrance, or, as it has been named, Bigod's Tower, an arch of entrance originally existed. There was no entrance into the Great Tower from below. The space below, although vaulted over, has no apparent opening to it, and therein entirely agrees with Castle Rising. In the floor now reached by this staircase (open on the other sides by windows), on the west or main wall of the great tower, is a double doorway spanned by an *arch of great size*, which cannot have failed to have arrested your attention.

"I will not pretend to explain to you the various devices carved thereon, or to make any remarks, architectural or otherwise, respecting it. I desire simply to point out what is worthy your inspection, and the readiest means of seeing it. The arch is all *excised* work, and consequently very early. The arch is supported by four columns. Upon the first capital on the left side is a huntsman with a sword by his side, and a horn in his right hand; with his left he holds a dog in slips, which appears to be attacking an ox. On the second capital is another huntsman spearing a wild boar of unusual size; his left side is covered by a long pointed shield. The subjects on the capitals on the right side are doubtful. This arch, as at Rising, undoubtedly opened into a large and lofty hall, having a range of windows on the north side; some above, and by the side of Bigod's Tower, in the east wall, and some traces of which may still be seen in the western wall.

"The main wall, of which I have spoken as dividing the Great Tower in the centre, ran east and west; and the other half of the floor, of which the great hall occupied the north side, had on the south two equally lofty apartments, the west one being the larger of the two, and having the convenience of a large fire-place. The corresponding room at Castle Rising has been conjectured to be an armoury. It may have been the original intention here; but it will be remembered that from the time of Henry III, if not before, the exclusive use of this great tower was the confinement of prisoners. And therefore here, as at Newcastle and other places, this large room may have been appropriated to a better sort of prisoners, who desired better fare than the rest, and had the means of paying for it.

"The third room has been the source of much speculation. It had, at its south-east corner, an arch opening into a recess, in which are various rude carvings. In these, one antiquary sees the altar piece of a chapel, another, only the efforts of some half-demented prisoner. The entrance

to this oratory is through an arch supported by two columns, the capitals of which are ornamented,—that on the left by an elegant figure on the front. At the angles are pelicans vulning their breasts. The capital on the right is exceedingly interesting, and its style is peculiarly Norman.

“Among the carvings in this oratory is a representation of the Trinity. The Father is seated, having a crown on his head, and the infant Jesus on his right arm; and below the child is a dove. The second, St. Catherine, crowned, having a small wheel in her right hand; a third is St. Christopher, a gigantic figure, much defaced: he has a staff in his right hand, and the infant Jesus on his left shoulder. These figures appear to have been coloured, and bespeak an early period. Beneath them, on the left, is another sculpture in better style.

“The walls and loops of the oratory are covered with armorial bearings, devices, and parts of figures, which I hope to get permission to have cleaned, that they may be accurately copied.

“I desire to call your attention to the fact of the existence of galleries in the thickness of the walls, which were originally entered by the smaller of the two doors in the entrance tower. This opened, by a short passage, into a newel staircase at the north-east angle; and from that staircase, at a little elevation above, the gallery on the north wall commenced. This runs along, passing in front of the great windows of the hall, at a considerable elevation above the floor of it, and passing the remarkable flue at the north-west angle, called the kitchen, communicated with a western gallery, which, running behind the pantries of the hall, communicated with a remarkable series of cloaca. The south-west angle also has a newel staircase, as at the north-east, and answering a similar purpose of communicating between this floor and the dungeons below, and with the platform and upper gallery of the tower above.

“At the present time, the communication between the western gallery and the southern is stopped. We must therefore return to the point we started from, and endeavour to explore the eastern and southern galleries. These are, however, very difficult of access. The eastern passage, starting from nearly the same point as the northern one, from the north-east staircase, runs first past the windows lighting the hall, and then those lighting the corner room in which the oratory stands, when, turning into the south wall, and running in front of the upper windows of this room, it descends several steps, and reaches the level of the windows of the gallery and armoury on the south, bending at one point to pass the flue of the great fire-place of that apartment.

“Mr. Harrod has pointed out that the Great Tower was covered in by two roofs of high pitch, ranging east and west, the external wall, to the depth of the two upper arcades, masking them. The marks of them will be easily seen on the inside of the west wall.”

Mr. Fitch then most obligingly conducted a large party over the seve-

ral parts, pointing out their distinctive features in his progress,—a work incurring toil and some difficulty.

Thanks having been warmly expressed for his able demonstration, the party proceeded, under the guidance of Mr. W. C. Ewing, to examine St. Peter Mancroft church (*Magna Crofti Castelli*). This is one of the finest churches in Norwich. It is a specimen of Perpendicular. On its site stood formerly a church dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, founded by Ralph Walet, afterwards bestowed by the Conqueror on his own chaplain. A new church was then erected, which was demolished in 1390; but it was not until 1430 that another was commenced and completed, and consecrated in 1455. It is of free stone and flint, but more of the former than is usual in Norwich churches. At the west is a square tower, 100 feet high, with a peal of twelve bells. The church has a nave, and two aisles, each 99 feet in length, with a chapel at the east end of each. There are also two transepts and a large chancel. The arches are lofty and slender. The open timber roof is very elegant; and over each window the wood-work forms a kind of vaulting, like a stone roof, which has a good effect, and is well shewn in an engraving in the Institute Norwich volume (p. 172). The clerestory has seventeen windows on each side, with good Perpendicular tracery. The arches and pillars are also Perpendicular, seven on each side. At present the church is much disfigured by a large organ, which blocks up the tower arch. This ought to be removed, and the west window opened, which would have a noble effect. The window is large and fine Perpendicular. The west door has some good sculpture. This church is remarkable for its baptistery, engravings of which have been published. It is of wood, and of the fifteenth century, but not perfect. Mr. Parker says there is a complete one in the church of Trunch; and these, with one at Luton,<sup>1</sup> in Bedfordshire (which is of stone, of the Decorated period, and therefore much earlier), are all that are known of the kind. The rev. C. R. Manning, of Diss, has given an account of the baptistery of Trunch.<sup>2</sup> The church, he tells us, is one of the best in the district of North Walsham; and the baptistery is richly carved in oak, and was formerly ornamented with colour and gilding. It is a cover, not resting upon the font, but by slender pillars outside the font, so as to form a hexagonal inclosure, beneath which the service was performed.

St. Peter Mancroft possesses a fine cup and cover, given by sir Peter Gleane in 1633, representing Abigail bringing presents to David, etc. There is an altar-piece by Catton; and the east window has painted glass. There is a monument to sir Thomas Browne, who was buried here, and whose portrait is in the vestry.<sup>3</sup> There is likewise an alabaster

<sup>1</sup> Engraved in Lysons' *Magna Britannia*.

<sup>2</sup> Norfolk Archæology, iv, 297.

<sup>3</sup> His skull, we understood, had been removed from his grave, and is now at the hospital.



carving, painted, representing nine female saints. These consist of—1, St. Mary Magdalen holding a box of ointment and a palm branch; 2, unknown; 3, St. Hildegarde with a pastoral staff and book; 4, unknown; 5, ditto; 6, St. Justine (?); 7, St. Ursula with a book and arrow; 8, St. Margaret with the dragon and cross; 9, St. Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, with the cross.

Time would not permit further examination, as the ordinary was appointed for half-past six, at which hour a numerous party of members and visitors sat down to dinner, the earl of Albemarle presiding.

An evening meeting was held at half-past eight (the president in the chair) in the council chamber of the Guildhall, when sir Fortunatus Dwaris, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., read a paper "On the Privileges of Sanctuary and Abjuration formerly accorded to Churches and their Precincts, Monasteries, and other Religious Houses," which will be printed in the next *Journal*.

Mr. PETTIGREW observed that in Norwich, St. Gregory's church was decidedly, next to the convent of the cathedral, the place in which the protection of sanctuary was chiefly obtained; and it was a very curious fact that in St. Gregory's there were two rooms precisely like those at Durham,—one in which it is said a man sat during the night to watch for and receive the fugitive; the other intended for the felon's accommodation. In the volume of the proceedings of the Archæological Institute, after their visit to Norwich in 1847, Mr. Parker gave a brief notice of the escutcheon belonging to a knocker on the north door of St. Gregory's church; and this escutcheon was described as having lost the ring. This was undoubtedly the knocker with which the fugitive sought entrance at the hands of the attendant. The peculiar style and character of the period appeared to Mr. Pettigrew to be that of a model of the knocker at Durham, which he had seen at the South Kensington Museum.

Mr. HARROD remarked that the privilege of sanctuary was common to all churches, and that the resort to one more than another was, he conceived, an accidental circumstance, arising from its position and ease of access. The little known of the local history of sanctuary in Norwich tended to confirm this supposition. The earliest references to the subject, with which he was acquainted, are contained in the fragment of a coroner's roll of the early part of the reign of king Edward I, of which extracts are given in the second volume of *Norfolk Archæology* (1849):

"William Sot, of Hemstede near Hapesburg, placed himself in the church of St. Gregory the Monday before St. Bartholomew's day, in the year 51. The coroners and bailiffs went and interrogated him why he placed himself there; and he confessed before them that he did so on account of certain clothes he had stolen at Hemstede; and he was taken at Yarmouth, and there incarcerated, from whence he escaped, and therefore placed himself in sanctuary; and he abjured the realm, and had protection to Sandwyȝ."



“Parishes of St. Peter Hundegate, St. Mary Parva, St. Cuthbert, St. Peter de Parmenterigate, sworn, say that a certain man named William de Bunhaim, chaplain, placed himself in the church of St. Cuthbert for a certain homicide perpetrated at Torpe, as they say. The bailiffs placed him in the custody of the aforesaid parishioners, and he escaped without view of coroners; and this was in the feast of Easter, in the year 52.”

To illustrate the paper from which the preceding extracts are taken, Mr. Harrod has there figured the curious brass escutcheon originally on the south door of the church, and pointed out its resemblance to the Durham example, which was undoubtedly used for the purpose of claiming sanctuary. He has also pointed out, in that paper, that the church of St. Gregory, Norwich, appeared on the coroner's rolls more frequently than the other city churches, except the cathedral. Others are named: St. Cuthbert, St. Peter Mancroft, St. John Maddermarket. In an inventory of church goods of St. Gregory, made in 1368, occurs a piece of church furniture named in no other inventory taken at that period, “an instrument of brass to lay hold of”, which Mr. Harrod was inclined to think referred to the door handle.

Blomefield has a notice in his county history (vol. iii, p. 176), from the city assembly books, that “in 1491 the burgesses in parliament acquainted the assembly that they had been at great expense in getting an ordinance of parliament to authorize them, in a quiet manner, to take John Estgate out of the sanctuary, the said John having entered the church and churchyard of St. Simon and Jude, and remained there for a long time past; during which time the city being forced to keep watch over him day and night, lest he should escape, was at great charge and trouble; upon which the expense was allowed. And the ordinance being passed, John Pynchamour, one of the burgesses, went to the sanctuary, and asked Estgate whether he would come out and submit to the law or no; and upon his answering he would not, he, in a quiet manner, went to him, led him to Guildhall, and committed him to prison.” Mr. Harrod concluded by expressing his surprise that the above fact had not attracted more the attention of those engaged in investigating the parliamentary and ecclesiastical history of the country.

The president then called upon Mr. Planché to read his paper “On Raoul de Gael, the first Earl of Norfolk.” (See pp. 30-43 *ante*.)

Upon the conclusion of the paper, Mr. BLACK said he had listened with a great deal of attention, having gone with Mr. Planché into the evidence, and had fully satisfied himself on most of the points in the paper. He had put in a pleasing form some interesting facts. The earls of England were known more by name than anything else, and Mr. Planché had brought to light one who was a native of this county, who did not owe anything to the grants of the Conqueror but a confirm-

ation of his rights. He thanked Mr. Planché for his interesting paper on this subject, and only wished there was more evidence on the point.

The meeting then adjourned.

## TUESDAY, AUGUST 25.

The Association assembled at 10 A.M. in St. Andrew's hall. The earl of Albemarle, president, in the chair.

Mr. Pettigrew read a paper historical and descriptive of the convent of Black Friars, which will be printed in the next *Journal*. At the conclusion, the party proceeded to examine minutely the several ancient parts remaining, after which they inspected the church of St. Andrew the Apostle.

ST. ANDREW THE APOSTLE. This is a large perpendicular church with aisles. It was rebuilt in 1478, and again in 1506, and has a lofty tower, with ten bells. There is no chancel arch. The following doggerel is placed at the south door, now at the western end of the nave :—

“ This church was builded of timber, stone, and bricks,  
In the year of our Lord God xv hundred and six ;  
And lately translated from extreme idolatry,  
A thousand five hundred and seven and fortie ;  
And in the first year of our noble king EDWARD  
The gospel in parliament was mightily set forward.  
Thanks be to God. Anno Dom. 1547. Decemb.”

At the extremity of the north aisle, formerly the chapel of St. Mary, are recumbent statues of Sir John Suckling and his wife, erected to their memory by their son, the poet. There is some good painted glass in the east window, and the rood stair turret still remains. Cotman has engraved two brasses in this church : John Clark, 1527, a mayor in his robes, the arms of the Merchant Adventurers' and Mercers' Company, together with his own merchant's mark : and William Layer and his wife, 1538. Layer was mayor of Norwich in 1537. Cotman quotes Blomefield with reluctance in regard to this brass, as the date of his mayoralty does not tally with the dress, which is without buttons on the right shoulder, common to that time. In his opinion, the effigies point to a date prior to 1500, and he looks upon them as little else than enriched copies of a brass of Henry Spelman and his wife, of the date of 1496. A drawing was exhibited of a very fine screen, hidden by the organ gallery, and great regret was expressed that so magnificent an object should be thus allowed to remain out of sight.

The time had now arrived to assemble at the cathedral; and the company being seated in St. Luke's chapel, Mr. H. H. Burnell read some notes on the cathedral introductory to an examination of the structure. [See pp. 44 to 50 *ante*.] Mr. Burnell having concluded, he conducted the party over the several parts of the building, pointing out those portions to which he

had particularly alluded, and assigning to each the date to which they belonged.

The Association then proceeded to visit the Bishop's palace, where, in the absence of the bishop of Norwich, the party was received by John Kitson, Esq., the registrar of the cathedral, who most obligingly conducted the visitors over every portion of the building deserving attention. The Bishop's Palace was originally entered by a passage from the door of the transept, arched over (as Blomefield tells us)<sup>1</sup> with stone like the cloister, "till in the late troublesome times, when it was totally demolished." It gave admission to the Great or Common Hall, on part of the site of which the present chapel is built; the old chapel (now entirely gone) standing to the right, between it and the church.

On this spot now stands the Bishop's palace, built by bishop Salmon. In 1535 bishop Nix granted, with the consent of the prior and chapter, a lease for eighty-nine years to the mayor, sheriffs, etc., to hold the guild and feast of St. George in the palace, and so to employ it for the space of fourteen days, unless it should chance that the king, queen, or the nobles should, at the time, be at the palace with the bishop.

Under the guidance of Mr. Kitson the Association visited a room wainscoted with finely carved woodwork, brought from the abbey of St. Bennet in the Holm, on which are the arms of the abbey, and also those of the Veres, Ingloses, and Sir John Fastolfe. There are also portraits of divers heroes and remarkable persons, with their names carved and attached to them.<sup>2</sup> The woodwork is said to have been brought hither by bishop Rugg.

The gates of the cathedral could not fail to excite attention.

St. Ethelbert or St. Austin's gate forms the only place of egress and ingress to the precincts of the cathedral at night, and has therefore a porter's lodge. It is reported to have been erected as an atonement on the part of the citizens of Norwich for the injury done by them to the cathedral in the insurrection of 1272, at which time they destroyed the chapel of St. Ethelbert. Part of the gate had been restored by the late Mr. Wilkins. There is a considerable portion of tracery, inlaid with flints. The richness of Erpingham gate was much admired. Here Mr. Pettigrew pointed out the frequent occurrence of the word *Heuk* referred to in his paper. The gate is a fine monument of four centuries old, and has deservedly engaged the pen of authors and the pencil of the artist to describe and display its perfection.<sup>3</sup>

The party now separated into divisions, and under the direction of Mr. Fitch and Mr. Ewing, visited several churches and various parts of the

<sup>1</sup> iv, 46, ed. 1806.

<sup>2</sup> See plate 9 of engravings by Ninham for C. Musket, 1843.

<sup>3</sup> Carter has engraved three statues from Erpingham Gate, and one from that of St. Ethelbert.



city. The following notices embrace the principal objects which engaged the attention of the Association:—

**ALL SAINTS.** This is of the perpendicular and decorated periods. The square west tower, south porch, and roof of the nave, are of the former, the chancel windows of the latter. The font has been admired as a specimen of perpendicular; it is of an octagonal shape, and sculptured with figures of the twelve apostles, St. Michael and the dragon, etc.

**ST. CLEMENT THE MARTYR** is mostly perpendicular. It has nave, chancel, but no aisles. The square tower is ancient. There are old brasses, and Cotman has engraved that of Margaret Pettwode, 1514, remarkable for a pedimental head dress and girdle for the bag. There is an altar tomb, erected by archbishop Matthew Parker to his parents, in the churchyard. This is whitened over annually, previous to the delivery of a commemoration sermon of that prelate, preached on Ascension day. In the churchyard also is what has been called the Leper's Tomb, said to have been erected for one who was permitted burial here after having in vain solicited that rite in other parishes. He is reported to have bequeathed his lands to this church. The whole is looked upon as a fiction, and it is altogether denied by Blomefield.

**ST. EDMUND, KING AND MARTYR.** This is a plain light perpendicular church, but is a foundation of the time of the Conqueror. It has a tower at the west, and a south aisle. The roof offers some good plain timber work, which is open to the gable without a tie beam or collar, and in the centre is a large carved wooden boss having the arms of the city, St. George and St. Edmund, and a scroll with the inscription *S. Edmundus, flos Martirum, velut rosa aut lilium*. Mr. Hudson Gurney has a drawing by Obadiah Short, formerly belonging to Mr. Woodward, of a bust from the interior of the steeple. Cotman has figured a brass formerly in this church: the person is unknown. It is interesting from the head dress and tippet, and a long train fastened up to the girdle behind.

**ST. ETHELRED** is one of the oldest churches in Norwich. The lower part of the tower is round, whilst the upper is octangular, like St. Bennet. There was a very ancient anchorage in the churchyard, and it continued there until the Reformation. Norman strings are observable on the exterior, and the south door is Norman, likewise a piscina, mutilated, within the chancel. Examples of the decorated and the perpendicular are here also to be seen, the windows being of both descriptions. The sedilia are formed of a plain stone bench in the sill of the window. There is a round flint tower at the west end. A perpendicular font is good, with Elizabethan cover. There are steps leading to it.

**ST. GEORGE COLEGATE.** A perpendicular church, with a tall flint and stone tower, built in 1459. The nave was likewise then rebuilt,



and the chancel finished in 1498. The north aisle and Mary chapel in 1504. The south aisle and St. Peter's chapel in 1513. It contains an altar tomb to Robert James, a great benefactor to Norwich and this parish; the inscription is gone; his arms, the initials of his name, and a merchant's mark yet remain. Two cures have been incorporated with it, St. Margaret, at Colegate, in 1349, and St. Olave, in Cherry Lane, in 1546. Cotman has engraved the brass of William Norwich and his wife from this church. He was mayor in 1491. It is one of the earliest brasses giving example of label issuing from the mouth, which it points towards but does not touch. Cotman has remarked on a mistake both as relates to the demise of William Norwich and his wife—the sixteenth century is given instead of the fifteenth. Norwich founded a chapel, dedicated to St. Mary and All Saints, at the east end of the north aisle.

**ST. GILES.** This is a fine perpendicular church, and the foundation is of the time of the Conqueror, by Elwyn, the priest, on his own estate, which was given by him to the monks of Norwich, and is now the property of the dean and chapter of Norwich. The church was rebuilt in the reign of Richard II, and the chancel demolished in 1581. There is a square tower at the west, 120 feet high, a dome at the top surmounted by a battlement. The nave is 81 feet in length, and there are two aisles. There are brasses of which Cotman has engraved that of Robert Buxton, 1432, mayor of Norwich, in his gown, and his wife in mourning, with veil and barbe by his side.

**ST. GREGORY** is also a good perpendicular church, having four arches on each side. There is a nave and two aisles, with chapels at the east ends. The chancel was rebuilt in 1394. The square tower at the top is timber, and was covered with lead in 1537, the only instance of the kind in Norwich, if we except the cathedral. It was erected in 1597, but being regarded unsafe, was taken down a few years since, and is now surmounted with a cupola. The font is perpendicular and octagonal, having a cover of the time of James I, and sculptures of the four Evangelists, and figures of the four quarters of the globe.

There are several specimens of carving, and there is an embroidered altar cloth. Beneath the altar is an arched common passage, and on each side curious panelling of the time of James, with the Lord's Prayer and Creed. There is also a monument to sir Francis Bacon, of the time of Charles II, and also some brasses. Here the escutcheon belonging to the ancient knocker was examined. Neither of the representations given by Mr. Parker and Mr. Harrod are perfectly satisfactory: the former is too highly elaborated, the latter insufficiently so. Both, however, convey an adequate idea of the nature of the work. It belongs to the fourteenth century. In this church is a fine brass lectern, which has been well engraved in the Institute volume (p. 164). Its date is 1496.

**ST. HELEN.** The perpendicular tower is mentioned by Mr. Parker as

the only entire remains of this church. A portion of the nave and the chancel have been converted into alms houses. The south transept has a groined vault with fine bosses, some of which have retained their original painting. They represent various scriptural subjects. The condition of this church is greatly to be lamented. It formerly belonged to the monks of Norwich, was pulled down, and the parish united to St. Giles. Bishop Lyhart built the church in 1541, and Kirkpatrick, the antiquary, is here interred. The remains are interesting; the part which is now used as a church exhibits arches and clerestory of good perpendicular work, with clustered pillars. It contains also some good carving, and the master of the hospital to which St. Helen's was united, John Hecker, has his name carved on his seat. He was master in 1526. The refectory is divided into wards of two alms houses, and there is a good cloister, in which is a perpendicular doorway with the arms of prior Molet, 1453, and this is asserted to have been the entrance to the chapter house. The tracery of the windows is good, and shows transition from decorated to perpendicular, being built about 1383. The annual revenue of St. Giles's Hospital, commonly called "Old Man's Hospital," founded in 1249, by Walter Suffield, alias Calthorp, bishop of Norwich, is said to be above £10,000; it is therefore to be regretted that the church should be so appropriated to wards for poor people, who could otherwise be accommodated, and the church restored.

ST. JAMES is a poor specimen of perpendicular; but it has a rich octagonal font, panelled and sculptured with figures of saints, &c. The tower is square, the bottom part of stone, the upper of brick; the former square, the latter octangular. Three sitting figures on the gable of the porch serve as pinnacles.

ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST, OF MADDERMARKE, is a perpendicular church, with a good wooden ceiling. It was founded before the survey made in Edward the Confessor's time. It possesses a fine tower, with an archway under it, over a thoroughfare. There is no chancel, but there are three arches on each side, and eight clerestory windows. The eastern bays have original painted ceilings, and the east window of five lights, with flowing tracery, is of the decorated period, and deservedly admired. The north porch and doorways are perpendicular, with a rich groined vault, and a deeply recessed doorway. Cotman has engraved some of the brasses: John Todenham (circa 1460); John Terri and wife, 1524;<sup>1</sup> John Marsham and family, 1525; Robert Rugge and wife, 1558. Rugge was mayor of Norwich in 1545. In his costume, the Spanish character will be seen to have been introduced, under the influ-

<sup>1</sup> This brass is fine, and has an inscription relieved, not engraven. It is an interesting example. There are the arms of the city, of which he was mayor in 1523, the arms of the mercers' company, and Terri's mark. Four children are represented on the brass.

ence of Mary's marriage with Philip. The children have slashed breeches. Rugge is known only by his persecution of the wife of John Bale,<sup>1</sup> for having married a priest, which, according to the 31st Henry VIII, was esteemed heresy.

ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST, OF TIMBER-HILL, is a church of mixed styles. The east window of four lights, and the chancel arch being decorated, of which period there is also a piscina. There is a squint on the north side of the chancel, from the nave to the east end of the south aisle. The font is Norman. The tower no longer is there, a wooden belfry supplies its place. Cotman has engraved the brass of John and Winifred Brown, 1597.

ST. JOHN'S SEPULCHRE is an example of the perpendicular; it has nave, chancel, and a lofty tower, the arch of which is good. There is also a good north porch with a niche. The font is panelled and sculptured with evangelistic symbols and angels, bearing escutcheons. It has been figured in the "Illustrations of Baptismal Fonts."

ST. JULIAN is of mixed styles. The walls are Norman—the tower is round, with a Norman arch, and is regarded by some antiquaries as Saxon. On the south side is an ancient entrance, not now used. Parker calls it plain Norman. An anchorage in the churchyard was destroyed at the dissolution. A good perpendicular font is in the church, with angels in square panels. The north doorway and porch are of the decorated period.<sup>2</sup>

ST. LAWRENCE is a good perpendicular, has a nave and clerestory. The arches differ from those of the chancel. The timber roof is good, and the spandrils are pierced with elegant open work. There are two old carvings in the spandrils on the west side, on one of which is represented the martyrdom of St. Lawrence. He is being broiled on a gridiron, the fire being tended by soldiers. The emperor Decian is seen falling under the stroke of a sword given by the Deity, who is figured as a king crowned. The other carving is of Danish soldiers shooting arrows into the body of King Edmund, his head lying in some bushes, agreeably to the legend. The old church was pulled down in 1460, and the new one completed in 1472. The west tower is 112 feet high. Cotman has engraved two brasses from this church, Thomas Childes, 1452, a skeleton figure, and Geoffrey Langley, prior of St. Faith, who died in 1437.

ST. MARTIN AT OAK OR COSLANY. A large oak formerly stood in the churchyard, with the image of the Virgin in it, whence its name; a fertile object for the exercise of superstition, and many legacies were bequeathed towards repairing, dressing, and painting it. It was removed soon after the accession of Edward VI, and the oak probably cut down,

<sup>1</sup> See *English Votaries*, part ii, p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> A good representation of the church is in the Institute Norwich volume, p. 166.

that which is now there having been planted in 1656. The church has a square tower. There is only a south aisle. The whole is perpendicular, built of flint and stone, dating from 1461.

ST. MARTIN AT PALACE is also a specimen of the Perpendicular. The clerestory windows are blocked up, with the exception of one, on each side. There is a good octangular font with panels. It has eight shafts to the stem, and there are panels between them. The roof is of timber, and a specimen of open work.

ST. MARY COSLANY is a fine cruciform Perpendicular church, distinguished by a tall round tower at the west, which is, perhaps, the original, and built of flint. The roof of the chancel has a boarded ceiling, paneled, and exhibiting perforated work, which Mr. Parker has suggested should be coloured to produce a fine effect. The roof of the transepts is also good open timber work. With the exception of the tower, the nave and remainder of the church was built in 1477. The pulpit, of wood, is paneled with tracery, and has an iron perforated projection as a book board. In the chancel are six stalls. A belfry appears to have been added to the original church, and has six bells. The church contains a tomb of Elizabethan time, on which there are figures, cut in stone, of Martin van Kurnbeck, M.D., and Joanna his wife, dated 1578.

ST. MICHAEL COSLANY must be admired for its beautiful workmanship in flint and stone. It is literally encrusted with cut flint in a tracery of free stone, and in some parts has the appearance of enameling. It is scarcely possible to imagine anything finer. The church is Perpendicular with the exception of the south aisle, which is early English. The windows are large, and of four lights. There is no clerestory. A chapel at the east end was dedicated to the Virgin, and endowed by Robert Thorpe, in the reign of Henry VII. The north aisle and chantry chapel, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, were built by William Ramsay, who is here interred; and in the window was his rebus, consisting of two rams and the letter A, whilst his large altar-tomb has been despoiled of everything except a merchant's mark and the initials of his name. This chapel was finished in 1508. The south porch and aisle were additions by alderman Gregory Clerk, who died in 1479, and finished by his son, who died in 1516. He was mayor of Norwich in 1514.

ST. PETER OF HUNGATE, or HOUNDESGATE,—so named from having been the place where the hounds of the bishop were kept. It is Perpendicular, with a small square tower and a transept. It is of black flint and stone, and of a cruciform shape. It was rebuilt by John and Margaret Paston in 1458. Blomefield says that, from the date in stone, on the buttress by the north door, it was finished in 1460, where there is an old trunk of an oak, represented without any leaves, to signify the decayed church; and from the root springs a fresh branch with acorns on it, to denote the new one raised where the old one stood. The letters,



according to Mackerell's MS., in the possession of Mr. Gurney, "f, i, a, d<sup>i</sup> m cccc lx," Blomefield reads, *fundata in anno Domini 1460*. Mackerell gives the device. This church has some ancient plate.

ST. PETER MOUNTERGATE was rebuilt in 1486, and is Perpendicular. It has a large square tower at the west: is without aisles. On the north side is a half octangular stair turret, and the rood stair turret still remains. There are twenty-four stalls in the chancel. The seats are curiously carved, and many reflections against the monks are introduced. It formerly belonged to a college of secular priests at the north-east corner of the churchyard. There are effigies of Richard Berney and his wife, which were erected in 1623; also the tomb of Thomas Codd, the mayor at the time of Kett's rebellion. The brasses are gone, also the inscription; but it was as follows:

"M. S.

Hic jacet, et per annos cxv  
Jacuit, quod mortale fuit  
Sed non quod reliquium fuit  
Viri istius boni et benefici  
THOME CODD quondam  
Senioris, et Rebellanti KETTO  
Opportuni, fidelis, et strenui  
Civitatis hujus NORWIC majoris.  
Nè ignorarent posterì, cui hæc  
Parochia, imo civitas NORW.  
Tantum debent, notum esse  
Piè voluit, omnium qui bene  
Fecerunt, gratissimus cultor,  
J. J."

The only brass is of Peter Rede (1568), engraved by Cotman, and in regard to which he says the executors, in a spirit of parsimony, adopted an effigy representing some other man a century before, fitting a new head to it, with a more modern helmet.

ST. SIMON AND ST. JUDE is one of the oldest in Norwich. It had a few old brasses and an effigy of sir John Pettus. The tower of the church is of flint and stone. A paneled wooden vestry door has a span-dril with a carving of St. Simon, and another with three fishes entwined.

ST. STEPHEN. This church was founded before the Conquest, as a chapel for the sick and needy belonging to the castle. The present building, a large Perpendicular church, was finished in 1550, the chancel being thirty years earlier than this time. The timber roof is very fine, and a good view of it is given in the Institute Norwich volume (p. 175). There is good painted glass in the east window, of the date of 1601. Mackerell's manuscript history gives a description of the church with its inscriptions; and among the drawings relating to it is one of an alabaster carving having male saints,—a drawing of which is also in Woodward's collections, in the possession of Mr. Gurney. Cotman has engraved four brasses from this church: John Daniel, a mayor, 1418; Richard Poring-

land, 1457; Thomas Bokenham, 1460, with a bald head, and high shoes with double clasps; Thomas Capp, 1545. The latter as a doctor of laws, in a black gown and rochet.

ST. SWITHIN is a small church, of mixed styles. The side windows and aisles are of the Decorated period; the clerestory and roof of the Perpendicular. On the north side, Perpendicular pillars are retained, whilst those on the south are modern. A part of the old screen remains. The font is Perpendicular, and carved with emblems of the saints, etc.; and there are stone stalls with misereres.

In the parish of St. John the Baptist, Maddermarket, a good specimen of domestic architecture of the Elizabethan period, was visited. The entrance doorway now leads to the Roman Catholic chapel. The hall generally known by the name of the Strangers' Hall, the original bay window of which remains, is ample, and gives admission to the priest's residence, who most urbanely admitted us to enter and examine the premises. At the back of the building are two bay windows of good proportion, one of which carries the date of 1627. In the priest's residence was a well carved ambrey (probably) the subjects representing some of the principal events in the life of St. John the Baptist.<sup>1</sup> The staircase in the hall is worthy of observation, together with some other small portions of the ancient building. The house was in the possession of the Sothertons in the reign of Edward VI. Nicholas Sutherton was mayor of Norwich in 1539. He died in 1540, and was buried at St. John Baptist, in Maddermarket, in the chancel, where was a brass and inscription to his memory; also his armorial bearings, which were, SOTHERTON, *argent*, a fess in chief, two crescents, *gules*, impaling HETHERSETT, *azure*, a lion rampant guardant, *or*.

In the neighbourhood of St. Lawrence church is an ancient well. It was in use in the time of Edward I. In 1576 it was granted to Robert Gibson, who agreed to bring the water into the public street for the "ease of the common people". A pump was accordingly erected, and this inscription, the original orthography of which has been altered, placed thereon. It formerly read thus :

"This water here caught,  
In sorte as yowe se,  
From a SPRING is brorghte,  
Threskore foot and thre.

GYBSON hath it sowghte,  
From Saint LAWREN's wel,  
And his charg this wrowghte,  
Who now here doe dwel.

Thy ease was his coste, not smal,  
Vovchsafid wel of those,  
Which thankful be his work to se,  
And thereto be no foes."

Engraved by Ninham for C. Muskett, in 1843. Plate 26.

In the parish of St. Clement the Association inspected a very interesting carved door, which has been engraved.<sup>1</sup> It has been erroneously stated to have belonged to the city house of the prior Augustine of Ixworth, and of the time of Henry VIII. The carving is, however, unquestionably of the time of James I; and Mr. Harrod is correct in assigning the house to one of the priors of Walsingham, which, he says, stood at no very great distance from the west end of the church of St. George Colegate. The wood is oak, and the door is paneled. There is an inscription, which reads—

MARIA : PLENA : GRACIE : MATER : MIS :  
REMEMBYR WYLLY<sup>ā</sup> LOWTH PRIOR XVIII.

Lowth was the eighteenth prior of Walsingham. Mr. Enfield, the proprietor of the house, very kindly distributed impressions of the lithograph representing the door to the members of the Association.

Near to St. Andrew's church is a house, now constituting the bride-well, and known as Appleyard's house,—or rather houses, for three are combined in one,—and it formerly constituted the residence of the first mayor of Norwich. William Appleyard was five times chief magistrate of the city, in 1403, 1404, 1405, 1411, and 1412. This house offers one of the best specimens of flint work in Norwich. The corporation purchased it in 1585, and converted it into a bridewell. It was damaged by fire in 1751 and 1753, but the walls were little injured.

A stone doorway lately removed from London-street, and purchased by the corporation, was also viewed. It is now put up at the Guildhall, and forms an excellent entrance to that building. It has been frequently engraved, and is figured in the *Institute* volume at p. 162, and again, enlarged, at p. 173.<sup>2</sup> This is known as Bassingham's gateway, is of the Perpendicular period, and richly ornamented, the spandrils and canopy being decorated with foliage. Over the gateway are the arms of Henry VII; and on each side, in the spandrils, those of the city of Norwich and the goldsmith's company. John Bassingham was a goldsmith in the reign of Henry VII, and the house formed the residence of John Belton, also a goldsmith, in the subsequent reign of Henry VIII. The merchant's mark of J. B. occurred on the house now taken down.

These various places having been visited, the party collected together to proceed to Caistor Camp, in the vicinity of Norwich, where Mr. Fitch read an interesting paper, which, together with remarks by Mr. George Vere Irving, will appear in the *Journal*. The author alluded to the *vexata quæstio* whether Caistor or Norwich be the true *Venta Icenorum* of the Romans, and expressed his concurrence in the opinion of Mr. Hudson Gurney in favor of Norwich. Mr. Gurney's views are given in

<sup>1</sup> Norfolk Archæology, vol. ii, p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> The latest etching of the gateway has been from a drawing executed by Mr. H. E. Blazeby, as it appeared prior to its removal to the Guildhall in 1857, and may be had of the artist, at the School of Art in Norwich.

a printed pamphlet, copies of which were distributed amongst the members.

On the motion of Mr. Pettigrew a vote of thanks was then passed to Mr. Fitch, for his very interesting paper, and Sir J. Boileau was invited to state the particulars of some of the excavations alluded to in Mr. Fitch's paper. Sir JOHN BOILEAU said: "In going over Mrs. Dashwood's grounds, we discovered some ruins of a building; and having persuaded her to allow us to uncover them, we traced the plan of a small square building, of which the floor had been carefully beaten down. Nobody has yet been able to say what this building was intended for. Some traces of a road to the Garianonum from this place have been discovered. We have traced pretty fairly different places in which Roman remains have been found, and we suppose that the Roman road went in the direction of those places to the Garianonum."

The company were then conducted round the foundation remains of the encampment, and on the side next Norwich they had a very good view of the walls, which, on that side, have not been earthed as they have on the other side and in the interior. The party then returned to Norwich, and at half-past eight assembled in the Guildhall for their evening meeting. T. J. Pettigrew, esq., V.P., in the chair.

It had been proposed on this occasion formally to discuss the question whether Caistor or Norwich was entitled to be considered the ancient Venta Icenorum; but after a short deliberation it was agreed to postpone the discussion until after Burgh Camp had been visited.

Mr. Pettigrew, in the absence of the Rev. Dr. Husenbèth, read a paper by that gentleman descriptive of some monumental fonts in Norfolk.

Mr. Planché read a paper by the Rev. Beale Post, on some representations of minstrels in early Painted Glass, which formerly belonged to St. James's Church, Norwich, which will appear, with illustrations, in the next Journal.

The chairman announced that the dean and registrar of Norwich, having kindly given their palæographer (Mr. Black) admission to the records of the Cathedral, they had been under his examination; and as they contained matters of much interest, he called upon

Mr. BLACK, who immediately responded, and said he could then only make a verbal statement of the progress which he had made during the afternoon in his examination of the records belonging to the dean and chapter. They consisted partly of the proper records of the dean and chapter since its establishment as such at the Reformation, and partly of those which belonged to their predecessors, the prior and monks of the cathedral from the foundation. He could not at present give a complete explanation of these records, because such a small portion of time had been necessarily bestowed upon them, and they extended over a very long



period. So far as he had been able to examine them, and he had done so with the assistance of one of their learned and excellent associates, the Rev. James Bulwer, he found that they consisted of a series of registers, or cartularies, some of which appeared to contain a repetition of the same matter, but upon examining them consecutively, he found that they were evidently the same registers belonging to the several principal officers of the ancient priory. There was one which, he had no doubt, was the register of the prior,—another, that of the sacrist,—and another belonging to the cellarer. One belonged to the chamberlain,—another to the infirmarer, and so forth. It would require special attention to ascertain in some instances to which particular department of the priory those registers belonged; some of them more palpably showed their origin and department than others. On opening the first great register, he was surprised to find a sort of history of the foundation of the cathedral, from the pen of Herbert himself. He did not know whether they had it not already printed in some form. It would require some comparison to ascertain this, but this was certainly a very interesting record, written in the peculiar style of the eleventh century, in which a man professes himself a great sinner. But, in point of fact, this Herbert asserts that he is the first bishop and founder of a church in Norwich dedicated to the Trinity, and which he makes, constitutes, and ordains to be the head and mother church of all the churches of Norfolk. That document, perhaps, might be considered as being something in the nature of a deed of foundation, but it was followed by a variety of deeds of the same kind, and he had not had time yet to take special notes of them, but they were now put into another form where they could be consulted at leisure, so that more exact information might be obtained from them. However, he saw that they were followed by a variety of charters, Royal and others, founding, and declaring all the privileges of the see which had been removed from Thetford. He could see nothing in those charters which indicated that the removal of the see from Thetford to Norwich was to be ascribed to any particular cause. He had no difficulty whatever in assigning the cause. He was not inclined to believe, as was commonly stated, that it was done by way of making some sort of compensation for simony, or anything of the kind; but, in point of fact, it was one of the questions of transfer which took place soon after the conquest.<sup>1</sup> This appeared to have been caused by the conflicts which

<sup>1</sup> Since the Congress was holden at Norwich, a volume entitled *Cupgrave's Chronicle* has been published under the direction of the master of the rolls. The following extract will be perused with interest:

“In this tyme Herbert Losinga, sumtyme abbot of Ramsey, but thanne bischop of Thetforth, sowyd a gret seed of symonie in Ynglond, for he bouthe his benefice of the kyng William for a grete summe. But whan his yong dayes were go, he went to Rome, and gat licens to remeve his sete to Norwich, where that he foundid a worchipful monasteri, of his owne gode, at Norwich: and a othir, of the order of Clyone, at Thetforth. He was wone to say, ‘I entred

took place between the Anglo-Saxons and the Norman prelates. The Norman prelates, canons, and others, who were put into the places of displaced ecclesiastics, were subject to annoyance, and needed protection. By a canon of a provincial synod, in the time of the Conqueror, all bishops were required to transfer their sees from villages, if in villages, to a provincial town. Under this arrangement, Lincoln arose. A transfer took place from Old Sarum to Exeter, and from Litchfield to Leicester, and back again. Several other sees were transferred from villages to walled towns; in some cases with great inconvenience; as in the case of Old Sarum, where the inhabitants suffered such inconvenience that they were obliged to get up a miracle to found a cathedral in a place where they would have more room, and not be shut in at night by the earl's garrison. Now, there was nothing in these registers to show that the removal to Norwich was made by way of compensation. He thought it was only by reason of the provision of the synod to which he had referred, and which might be found in Spelman, and other works of that kind. As to the name of Herbertus, there was no authority for putting the preposition *de* before Losinga, which had been only done in modern times. Then followed a variety of Royal charters, of William (probably) the Second, several of Henry I, and of successive sovereigns, as long as the monastery existed, which were arranged in chronological order. In the first division was the registry of which he was speaking; then came the muniments, forming the particular titles of the lands which were the property of the monastery. In one of Herbert's charters there was a special assignation of lands, which he separated from the general possessions of the cathedral, which was formerly at Thetford, for the use of the monks which were there; and in the strongest possible terms he insists that the monks placed there should perpetually continue there, and not be displaced under any pretence whatever. The charters which referred to the lands or estates which were separated at various times from the general estate of the See, or bestowed by private gift, were exceedingly numerous, and were arranged under their respective heads. That cartulary appeared to have been written in the reign of Edward I, and in the latter part of the thirteenth century. At the end of each of these documents were other records, and other charters referring to the same lands, or falling under the same general title of Royal charters, final concords, and the like. There were several other cartularies in large folio, but he did not recollect one so well written, so grand and dignified in style, as that which he had been attempting to describe. Each of them contained a copy of Herbert's foundation, and of several or most of the Royal charters. The margin of some of these documents

even, but with the grace of God I schal wel go owte.' And that word of Jerom wold he ofte reherse,—'We erred whan we were yong; lete us amende it inoure age' ('erravimus juvenes; emendamur senes.')

—S. Hierom. contra Rufinum, vol. ii. col. 539: Venice, 1735.) *Capgrave's Chronicle*, p. 131, A.D. 1092.

contained numbers and letters, showing in which chest or other division they were to be found, and the original charters bore the same marks. He saw the originals of some of the Royal charters, and from the number of copies, he thought there must have been five or six officers placed over different departments of the establishment. In smaller monasteries one cartulary sufficed for all departments. In Westminster, however, it was different; separate officers were placed over the several departments; each one had his own revenues and offices, and kept his own accounts separately. So it appeared to have been at Norwich. There was a document which seemed to be from the pen of Herbert himself. In the sacrist's register they found a separate rental. It set forth all the particular rents and revenues of the sacrist as a separate officer. At present he had only had time to observe original documents. He had been speaking hitherto of registers; those which they had examined appeared to consist of two classes. There were rolls of accounts, exceedingly curious and interesting, and would require a great deal of time and care to investigate thoroughly. That they were wonderfully exact was evident from some passages in them. For instance, there was an account in the infirmarer's papers of the expense of constructing and glazing new windows in the time of Henry I. There was also an account of money expended in repairing the boats and galley belonging to the monastery, with the amount paid to the bargeman. Accounts were also kept of the store of grain, not only at home, but in the several granaries belonging to the monastery elsewhere, which began by stating the balance of last year, then shewed how many quarters had been received into granary, the total issues, and then a balance was struck, shewing what remained at the end of the year. There were two or three volumes of charters, the originals of which were entered in the registries. He had not been able to examine them, but they were carefully preserved, although the seals would be taken better care of if they were guarded round with a sort of pad. However, they were in a very fair state of preservation. Many that he had seen belonged to the time of Edward II, but there were numerous ones of an earlier date. They had not had time to find the volume containing them, but he had no doubt that the original of every one of these charters would be found, even of those which were as early as the time of William Rufus. He was also inclined to think, that the original of Herbert's own deed of foundation would be found, though they had not had the good fortune to meet with it yet. He had found matters in these records of considerable interest relating to the city. There was a sort of chronicle beginning at the end of the fourteenth, and extending over more than half of the fifteenth century. It referred to the last four or five years of the jurisdiction of the bailiffs, giving the names, then the first mayor and sheriffs that were chosen, stating on what day they were elected,



how long they held office, and under what charter. They next came to a part which said that the king seized the liberties, put down the mayor and sheriff for a time, and committed the care of the city to a London citizen, whose name it mentioned; and stated that he exercised the government of the city (including the office of mayor), under the title of warden, for some successive years. The names of the sheriffs,—which were appointed by him, not elected in the usual way,—were also stated year by year. They also came to a second occasion in which the liberties were seized by the king, and another warden was appointed to hold the government of the city for some years. Some of these occasions were alleged to have been an insurrection of the citizens against the church, as in the old story of Edward the First's time. As to other documents, it was not their business to enter into anything of a later date than the Reformation, though there was an interesting series of grants and leases since that time. There were some valuable manuscripts relating to the city. Three leaves in one volume, which referred to the history of the city in 1272, were entirely destroyed. There were also two volumes of formularies, one of which related to proceedings in civil courts, and the other consisted of letters of every description, written about the time of Edward II. He had no doubt that some valuable historical matter might be gathered from these muniments, because they were all genuine documents.

Sir J. BOILEAU proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Black for the valuable information which he had given them. He had displayed great skill in deciphering ancient documents. He was surprised that Mr. Black should have collected such a vast amount of information in so short a space of time, and deliver it so clearly as had been done that evening. He trusted that Mr. Black might be allowed to continue his examination of these documents; and if there was anything to be discovered, he was sure that his perspicacity and industry would enable him to do so.

Mr. D. GURNEY seconded the proposition.

Mr. PETTIGREW, before putting the motion, said it was fortunate that they possessed one in their body who was capable of doing justice to those interesting records which he was permitted to examine. As a body of antiquaries, combined to promote inquiries into the history of the county, he thought they might safely ask those who lived in the neighbourhood to assist them; and he would therefore ask Mr. Harrod, whose recent work on the churches and castles in this county was an exceedingly valuable contribution to antiquarian lore, to favour the meeting with some observations.

Mr. HARROD said he was much gratified to learn that Mr. Black had received permission to make an examination of the cathedral records, and hoped that he would be able to devote sufficient time to them, so as to clear up a great many matters which local antiquaries were unable to



enter into. The rolls, he need hardly say, were some of the most valuable documents which existed in the county, and contained a distinct enumeration, from 1272, of every penny of receipt or outlay about that great monastery. The extent of valuable information to be derived from that source alone would occupy a man, even of Mr. Black's energy and quickness, some months. The flying buttresses at the cathedral were in a state of decay; and he would suggest that the time of their being put up should be ascertained, if possible, which he had no doubt could be done, as the rolls were so minute in their descriptions. He had no doubt, in fact, that the figures round each of the buttresses were enumerated.<sup>1</sup> He would also direct Mr. Black's attention to a registry of letters written by the priors, which extended over a considerable period of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. From the few transcripts he had made the letters appeared to be not merely on matters of business, but on ecclesiastical affairs of great interest to the county; and he apprehended that they were not only important to the local historian, but to the general one also.

Mr. PETTIGREW then put the motion to the meeting, which was carried with acclamation.

Mr. BLACK briefly returned thanks.

Mr. BURNELL said some misconception appeared to exist respecting the state of the flying buttresses. He had examined them with Mr. Brown, the cathedral architect, and found that the dressing had merely been broken off. It was proposed to shore up the building on either side of the buttresses, and to replace the stone as before, only in new material. There need, therefore, be no apprehension that these buttresses would be removed; but it was necessary that they should be replaced, for the maintenance of the structure.

The evening's proceedings then terminated.

<sup>1</sup> See plate 2.

*(To be continued.)*



## Proceedings of the Association.

(Continued from vol. xiii, p. 352, Dec. 1857.)

NOVEMBER 25, 1857.

JAMES HEYWOOD, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following were added to the list of associates :—

- Thomas Woolley, esq., 41, Chester-terrace, Regent's-park.  
 John Henry Gurney, esq., M.P., Kensington Palace-gardens.  
 Sir Edward North Buxton, bart., M.P., 7, Grosvenor-crescent.  
 W. Aldam, esq., Frickley Hall, Doncaster.  
 Harington Tuke, M.D., Manor House, Chiswick.  
 Robert Fitch, esq., Market-place, Norwich.  
 Rev. James Bulwer, M.A., Hunworth Rectory, Holt.  
 W. A. T. Amherst, esq., Diddington Park, Brandon, Norfolk.  
 W. Scott Henderson, esq., Abbotrule, Howick.  
 Sir Henry Stracey, bart., Rackheath Hall, Norfolk.  
 Sir W. J. H. Browne Ffolkes, bart., F.R.S., F.S.A., Hillington  
 Hall, Norfolk.  
 A. A. H. Beckwith, esq., Norwich.  
 F. G. West, esq., Horham Hall, Dunmow.  
 Rev. Hinds Howell, Drayton Rectory, Norfolk.  
 Abraham Gourlay, esq., Great Yarmouth.  
 Charles John Palmer, esq., F.S.A., Great Yarmouth.  
 L. S. Bidwell, esq., Thetford.  
 Rev. John Gunn, M.A., Irstead, Norfolk.  
 Lieut.-General Sir Robert John Harvey, C.B., Mousehold House,  
 Norwich.  
 Robert Canning, esq., Heledon House, Heledon, Warwickshire.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :—

- From the Society.* Mémoires de la Soc. des Antiquaires de Picardie.  
 Documens Inédits concernant la Province. Tom. iii, Amiens,  
 1856. 4to. Tom. iv, 1855. 4to.  
 Mémoires de la M<sup>ême</sup>. 1856. 8vo.  
 Bulletin de la Soc. des Antiq. de Picardie. Années 1853-54-55.  
 Tom. v. 1855. 8vo. Années 1856-57. 8vo.

*From the Society.* Archæologia, vol. xxxvi, part ii. Vol. xxxvii, part i. London, 1855-56. 4to.

Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, Nos. 43-46. London, 1855-57. 8vo.

List of the Society of Antiquaries of London. 1856. 8vo.

„ „ Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge. Vol. viii. Washington, 1856. 4to.

Tenth Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington. 1856. 8vo.

„ „ Proceedings of the Royal Society. Nos. 26-27. London, 1857. 8vo.

„ „ Journal of the Archæological Institute. No. 54. London, 1857. 8vo.

*Board of Trade.* Meteorological Papers. London, 1857. 4to.

————— Register, kept by the earl of Gifford in his yacht, “Fair Rosamond.” London, 1857. 4to.

*Hudson Gurney, Esq.* Letter to D. Turner, esq., on the Venta Icenorum, Norwich, 1847. 8vo.

„ „ Gurdon (T.) on the Antiquity of the Castel of Norwich, 1728. Reprint, 1854. 8vo.

„ „ Kirkpatrick (J.) Notes concerning Norwich Castle. London, 1847. 8vo.

*The Publisher.* The Gentleman’s Magazine, from July to November, 1857. 8vo.

*The Canadian Institute.* Their Journal. No. x. Toronto, July, 1857. 8vo.

*The Author.* History of East Dereham, by G. A. Carthew, F.S.A. London, 1857. 12mo.

Mr. Zanzi communicated the following intelligence received from Sigs. Antonio and Giovanni Battista Villa, relating to the discovery of a bronze paalstab and flint arrow heads in the turf of the lake of Bosio. The lakes of Alserio, Pusiano, and Oggiono formerly constituted one lake, known, as we learn from Pliny, by the name Eupilus. A portion has become dried up, and converted into turf. Until recently, no object of archæological interest had been discovered within it; but in the course of digging last year, Sig. Fred. Landriani turned up a bronze paalstab, in a fine state of preservation, together with some white flint arrow heads, of which photographic engravings were laid before the Association. A similar example may be seen in the Temple Collection recently received at, and arranged in, the British Museum.

Dr. Lee exhibited a curious Cromwellian relic, being the passports granted by the Protector and the Earl of Manchester to Abraham Whelocke, the celebrated Arabic professor at the university of Cambridge. They read and are signed as follow:—

“April 4, 1643. Suffer the bearer hereof, Mr. Abraham Whelocke,

to passe your gards soe often as he shall have occasion into and out of Cambridge, towards lytle Shelford, or any other places, and this shall be your warrant.—OLIVER CROMWELL, JAMES THOMPSON, JOHN COOKE, EDWARD CLENCHE.”

“Lett Mr. Abraham Whelocke passe your gards soe often as hee shall have occasion into and out of Cambridge, towards little Shelford, or any other place, and this shall be your warrant. Given under my hand, this 27 off Feb., 1643.—E. MANCHESTER.”

These are written upon the fly-leaf of an Arabic translation of the Cardinal Bellarmin's *Dichiaratione più copiosa della Dottrina Christiana*, Roma, 1627, 4to; a work engaging probably the professor's attention during his journeys to and from Shelford, and inserted therein for convenience and security.

Mr. G. R. Corner made the following communication:—

“A copy of a deed belonging to the worshipful company of cordwainers of London, and relating to their property at Bankside, which is situate on the east side of the Southwark Bridge, and extends from the river side along Horseshoe Alley into Maid Lane, now called New Park Street. It is very near to the site of the Globe Theatre, which stood on the south side of Maid Lane, on ground now occupied by part of Messrs. Barclay, Perkins, and Company's brewery, and was separated from the houses comprised in the deed, and now belonging to the cordwainers only by Maid Lane.

“What is remarkable in this deed is, that one of the witnesses is Peter Shakespere. Who or what he was does not appear; but the deed was executed at Southwark, and the houses adjoined to the Greyhound Inn. Peter Shakespere was perhaps the landlord or a neighbour, living almost on the spot which was 'made famous a hundred years afterwards by his great namesake.

“I have taken some pains to learn something more of Peter Shakespere, but, I regret to say, hitherto without success. The communication of this deed may perhaps induce others to undertake a search with more fortunate result.

“Sciant p'sentes & futuri q'd ego, Johannes Freman de London, dedi, concessi, et hac p'senti carta mea confirmavi Ricardo Elderton, Ricardo Batte, Rob'to Hanson, & Johanni Bere, ill' duo' messuag' mea cu' suis p'lin' insimul jacen' in Suthwerk in com' Surr' juxta hospiciu' ib'm vocat' le Greyhound. Habend' et tenend' p'dict duo' messuag' cum suis p'lin' p'fat' Ricardo, Ricardo Rob'to & Johanni Bere her' & assign' suis in p'pū de capitalib' dominis feod' ill' p' svic' inde debit' & de jure consuet. Assignavi eciam ego p'fat' Johannes Freman locoq' meo p' p'sent' posui & constitui dilecti michi in X'po Will' Hervy men' veru' et l'tmum attorn' ad delib' and' p' me & nomine meo p'fat' Ricardo, Ricardo, Rob'to & Johi Bere sive eor' in hac p'te attorn' plenam et pacificam possessionem & seizinam de & in p'd'cto duobus messuag' cum suis p'tin'. N'clm' vim, formam, tenorem et effectum p'sentis carte mee eis inde con-



fect' ratu' lictur' & gratum firmu' & stabil' totu' & quicquid d'eūs attorn' meus  
 nōie meo fecerit in p'missis p' p'sentes. In cujus rei testione huic p'senti carte  
 sigillu' meu' apposui. Dat apud Suthwerk p'dict sexto decimo die Februarii,  
 anno regni Regis Ricardi tercii post conqūm primo. Hiis testibus Will'mo  
 Webbe, Joh'ne Greves, Edmundo Hamond, Will'mo Coon, Petro Shakespere,  
 et aliis. (Seal.)

Indorsed, Horseshoe Alley.

#### TRANSLATION.

Know all men, present and future, that I, John Freman, of London, have given, granted, and by this present deed of mine confirmed to Richard Elderton, Richard Batte, Robert Hanson, and John Bere, those my two messuages with their appurtenances, lying together in Suthwerk, in the county of Surrey, near the inn there called the Greyhound, to have and to hold the aforesaid two messuages with their appurtenances to the aforesaid Richard, Richard, Robert, and John Bere, their heirs and assigns, for ever, of the chief lords of the fee, by the services therefore due and of right accustomed. I have also assigned my dearly beloved in Christ, William Hervy, my true and lawful attorney, to deliver for me, and in my name, to the aforesaid Richard, Richard, Robert, and John Bere, or their attorney in that behalf, full and peaceable possession and seizin of, and in the said two messuages with their appurtenances, according to the force, form, tenor, and effect of this my present deed to them therefore executed, ratifying and confirming firmly and stably all and whatsoever my said attorney in my name shall do in the premises. In testimony whereof, I have to this present deed placed my seal, executed at Suthwerk aforesaid, the sixteenth day of February, in the first year of the reign of King Richard the third, from the Conquest. These being witnesses, William Webbe, John Greves, Edmund Hamond, William Coon, Peter Shakespere, and others."

Mr. Syer Cuming remarked that the Greyhound Inn, Bankside, is not mentioned by Stow, nor does there appear to have been any tokens issued from it in the seventeenth century; it was therefore possibly demolished at an earlier period. The sign was in all probability the greyhound of the Somersets, which Henry VII assumed as one of the supporters to his arms.

Mr. Syer Cuming read the following observations

#### ON A MÆDIEVAL VESSEL IN FORM OF AN EQUESTRIAN KNIGHT.

"The paper on mediæval vessels in the form of equestrian knights, read at a former meeting,<sup>1</sup> has been the means of bringing to light another example of these curious objects, whose rarity is so great that we hail any addition to our meagre stock with satisfaction. The specimen now to be described was discovered in the yard of Winwick church, near Warrington, Lancashire, about the year 1840, and is the property of the Warrington Museum, from which institution it has been obtained for exhibition by our associate, Dr. Kendrick. This vessel, like all the

<sup>1</sup> See vol. xiii, pp. 130-134.

earlier examples of its class, is of terra-cotta. It is unfortunately much fractured, and a considerable portion lost, yet enough remains to indicate that it represents a knight seated on a charger, armed at all points for tilt or tourney; but the workmanship is so exceedingly barbarous that little can be made out beyond the general contour. The knight appears to wear a cylindrical helmet; but as the vessel was filled with liquid through the head of the rider, it may only be the rim which received a conic stopple representing the Norman *Heaume*; and what favors this idea is, that the knight's nose seems to have a bar before it like that of the nasal helmets on the Bayeux tapestry. The eyes are hollow circlets, which Dr. Kendrick suggests may have once been set with glass. The left arm, which probably held a shield, is broken away, but the right couches a stout lance, as if in full charge. The left heel presents a slight trace of a pryck spur; the saddle rises up rather high both before and behind the rider, in Asiatic manner; and the breast of the horse is protected by a *Picciere* of mailed-armour, *i.e.* armour composed of lozenge-shaped plates, like the chausses of the knight on the specimen exhumed in Leadenhall street. Representations of horses equipped in armour of the early period of this specimen, are of great scarcity; but the fact that they had defences is manifest from the account of the battle of Hastings, given by Robert Wace, who describes the steed of Fitz Osborn as "*all covered with iron.*" The head of the horse, (which, as in the Lewes specimen,<sup>1</sup> constituted the spout of the vessel), is broken off, so as to exhibit the canal in the neck, through which the liquid flowed. From the shoulder of the knight springs a broad handle, which rests on the crupper of the horse, the upper side of which is decorated with long wedge-shaped indentations, much like those on the Lewes vessel. The details of the figure are so indistinct, that were it not for the help derived from other examples of a similar description there would be much difficulty in determining its true epoch. In my opinion, there can be little doubt but that it is a production of the early part of the twelfth century; and there seems reason to believe that it is of native manufacture. Dr. Kendrick states, that on showing it to a master potter, he expressed himself as certain, that the material of which it is formed is the common fire-clay found at Sutton, near St. Helens, about eight miles from Warrington. The material is of firm texture, of a reddish hue, and overspread in great part with a lead glaze of a light yellowish-green colour, differing much from that in the Leadenhall-street specimen. Dr. Kendrick supports its claim to home manufacture by the exhibition of the handle, apparently of a similar vessel, which he found in his own garden, and which the potter before mentioned is confident is formed of Sutton fire-clay, covered with salt glaze. Upon the question as to where the Winwick specimen was wrought, I do not feel competent

<sup>1</sup> See vol. xiii, p. 132.

to decide. All I can say is, that the few terra-cotta vessels of this class which have come under my notice are of better execution, and display a far more masterly and careful manipulation. It is therefore not impossible that those of superior finish are of continental origin, and that the one before us is a barbaric ectype of native fabric."

Mr. Thomas Wills exhibited a diminutive key of the fifteenth century, and remarked, so great a variety of keys had been exhibited to the Association within a few years past, that we can scarcely now hope to find any which would present much novelty of design. He trusted, however, that he was able to produce a specimen worthy of notice, if even only on account of its lilliputian proportions. It was recovered from the Thames off Paul's wharf, about the middle of last September, and measured only seven-eighths of an inch in length. It has a pointed-topped bow, with a circular perforation through its centre; a broach the same length as the web, the edge of the latter being formed into three short teeth. It is filed out of a flat piece of brass, or yellow bronze as some would term it, the metal being identical with that of the Roman key found at Sutton, and described in the *Journal* of 1856, vol. xii, p. 122. Still this tiny relic has no claim to be regarded as of Roman origin, for it is evidently the work of the beginning of the fifteenth century. But for what purpose could it have been designed? The watch-chain and châtelaine had not then made their appearance at the lady's side, with their baubles of dwarf keys, slippers, and egg-baskets; it is too insignificant for a badge of office, and is surely too exact in its formation for a toy. We are therefore constrained to believe that, small as it is, it was made for actual service, and in all probability belonged to the lock of a diminutive coffret. Some of the mediæval coffrets measured but a few inches in length, and had, of course, locks in proportion. But this is one of the smallest keys we have yet met with, and as such he thought it might be of some interest to the members of the Association.

Dr. Kendrick forwarded for exhibition some unusually fine specimens of torchs and horse furniture, upon which Mr. Syer Cuming read a paper, to appear in a future number of the *Journal*, with illustrations.

DECEMBER 9, 1857.

T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were voted to the *Publisher* for the Gentleman's Magazine for December. 8vo.

To *Professor A. D. Bache*, for Report of the Superintendent of the Coast Survey of the United States for 1855. Washington. 4to.

*Mr. Wakeman* presented to the Association impressions of the seals and counter-seals of the Lords Marchers of Monmouth and Abergavenny, to illustrate his paper on the Chancery of Monmouth. (See pp. 56-60 *ante*.)

Mr. Pettigrew read a paper detailing the history of Kett's rebellion in Norfolk, in the sixteenth century, drawn up for the late Congress held in that county, and which time did not admit of being laid before the meeting.

Mr. Syer Cuming drew the attention of the Association to another fraud in the manufacture of antiquities, perpetrated in the county of Kent:—

#### ON PRETENDED DISCOVERIES OF BRITISH REMAINS IN KENT.

On the 25th of June last, a person brought to him a considerable number of arrow-heads of flint, with a few hemispherical masses of the same substance, which he was pleased to designate sling-stones, all of which he stated had been found in an ancient pot, in excavating for the foundation of a house on the top of Blackheath hill. Mr. Cuming pronounced the arrow-heads and sling-stones to be of *recent manufacture*, and intended for the purpose of deception, warning the person, at the same time, to be careful not to propagate statements palpably untrue. A few days back, however, to his regret, an acquaintance showed him "an earthen pot, which was said to have been discovered full of flint arrow-heads and sling-stones, in excavating for the foundation of a house on the top of Blackheath hill." The pot, and a portion of its professed contents, were laid before the meeting. The vessel is somewhat skittle-shaped, more Roman than British in its contour; is about three inches in height, and made of unbaked clay, containing little pebbles and modicums of *red brick*. The surface is decorated with incuse bands of upright strokes, chevrons, circles, and hemicircles, in an order and manner very unlike the ornamentation seen on vessels of either the stone or bronze periods. The chevrons are piled in pyramids; the half-circles have no affinity with British art, and in the small circlets on the belt that girds the centre of the pot, Mr. C. recognized an adornment of frequent occurrence on the productions of an Italian fabricator of ancient fictileware, who formerly carried on business in London. That this vessel, like the reputed British arrow-head affirmed to have been found within it, is of modern fabric, cannot admit of doubt; and so far from its recent discovery, it has evidently been long since broken and repaired with plaster-of-Paris, although it is professed to be in the exact condition in which it was exhumed from Blackheath hill. Little need be said about the arrow-heads and "sling-stones:" they are all made of black and greyish coloured flint, and can never be mistaken for ancient weapons. The arrow-heads are of various sizes, all however of the same general form—that of a lozenge, the lower part being chipped away to produce tangs, which are so ill-fashioned that it would be next to impossible to fix them in a shaft. The so-called sling-stones bear no resemblance to the lithic balls of any nation in any portion of the globe.



With this pretended find of antiques, may be coupled another of a somewhat allied character. A few years since two *early British knives*, of black flint, were brought to Mr. Cuming; the story being that they had just been discovered in Kent, but under what circumstances was not exactly known. They certainly bore a considerable resemblance in form to the siliceous knives of the Britannie savages, but presented none of the appearances which indicate an ancient date. Shortly after this, whilst rambling about Northfleet, he came upon an immense heap of fragments of flint, several yards in length and breadth, and at least four feet in depth. Here he had discovered the mine from which his friend's ancient British knives had been obtained, and from which many a specimen has been culled for the purpose of like deception. This vast heap of spawls and flakes were the refuse from a gun-flint manufactory, and from it might easily be selected pieces resembling rude spear-heads and arrow-blades, knives, and so-called sling-stones in endless profusion. Mr. Cuming laid before the Association a fair sample of what this heap was, and perhaps is still capable of producing, and had produced to the loss and chagrin of the unsuspecting tyro.

A conversation ensued as to the means of punishing such examples of fraud; but beyond that of announcing the discovery of them by means of the public meetings, their reports, and the *Journal* of the Society, there appeared to be none likely to be effectual.

Mr. Wills exhibited an intaglio, apparently of late Roman workmanship, cut upon an oval piece of emerald-coloured glass. It represents Mercury seated on a *cippus* or boundary-stone, he being the protector of highways. On his head is the winged *Pegasus*, and on his feet is the *talaria*; his right hand holds the *marsupium* or purse, indicative of his being the god of gain; over his left arm hangs the *chlamys*, the usual garb of the *ceryx* or herald, (for Mercury was the messenger of the gods); and in his hand is the *caduceus*. At the feet of the figure stands a cock, symbolic of vigilance. As Mercury was regarded as the tutelary divinity of commerce, this intaglio was, in all probability, the *signum* from the ring of a Roman merchant. It was discovered some years since at Reculver, in Kent.

Mr. Lionel Oliver exhibited a folio of excellent photographs representing various places visited by the Association during the Norfolk congress—Castle Rising, Binham priory, Walsingham abbey, etc.

Mr. C. H. Luxmoore exhibited a jug similar to one engraved in the *Journal* (vol. v, page 23, fig. 5). It is of hard-baked pottery, the upper part covered with mottled green glaze, and measures six and a quarter inches in height. It is in very perfect condition, and was discovered about a year and a half since near Smithfield, when enlarging a portion of the Fleet Ditch. Its date is the early part of the sixteenth century.

The meetings were then adjourned over to the 13th of January, 1858.

## Antiquarian Intelligence.

---

**IRISH ANTIQUITIES.** Great activity now prevails in regard to the pursuit and development of antiquities in Ireland, which country must be admitted to be a field pregnant with interest to the antiquary. Mr. HENRY O'NEILL, an artist, has recently published *An Essay on Irish Art* to accompany the representation in lithography of the sculptured crosses belonging to ancient Ireland. There are thirty-six folio plates tinted, besides about forty representations of ancient ornamented grave-stones, together with *fac-similes* of their inscriptions. The subject has always been one of interest; but many doubts have been entertained in regard to it. Mr. O'Neill's familiarity with ancient Irish art has enabled him to supply deficiencies, and complete several of the figures he has submitted to the antiquary. This, to any one less acquainted with the subject, might be hazardous work; but it appears to have been cautiously and judiciously executed in the present instance. The author is free in condemnation of the opinions entertained by Dr. Petrie; and a tone of severity is assumed, which is scarcely justified when applied to so excellent an authority. We agree with Mr. O'Neill in his opinion, expressed (p. 1.), that in all the remains of ancient Irish art there is a peculiar style, as truly national as that of Greece, of Egypt, or any other country that has been distinguished in art. The characteristics of Irish style he denotes as of interlaced ornaments, bands, cords, serpents, dogs, birds, human beings, etc.; there are also spirals, waves, zigzags, and frets. Vegetable forms are very rare. Mr. O'Neill gives, in a foot note to his essay, his adhesion to the theory propounded by Mr. O'Brien in regard to the object of the round towers. This subject, however, is about to be introduced to the public by the labours of Mr. GORDON HILLS, who has laid before the Association his extensive and accurate collection of all the round towers now extant in Ireland, and we hope that he may meet with deserved patronage. His work will be an important acquisition to the illustrations of Irish antiquarian architecture.

Mr. WILDE has also just put forth "A Descriptive Catalogue of the Antiquities of Stone, Earthen, and Vegetable Materials in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy," which may be obtained upon application to Mr. E. Clibborn, Dawson-square, Dublin. It has been printed for the Academy at the University press; is profusely illustrated with woodcuts, and offers another instance of the knowledge and care of the secretary of foreign correspondence to the Academy.

# THE JOURNAL

OF THE

## British Archaeological Association.

---

JUNE 1858.

---

### OF THE PRIVILEGES OF SANCTUARY AND ABJURATION,

FORMERLY ACCORDED TO CHURCHES AND THEIR PRECINCTS,  
MONASTERIES, AND OTHER RELIGIOUS HOUSES.

BY SIR FORTUNATUS DWARRIS, KNT., B.A., F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P.

By the ancient, established law of this country, founded on a superstition still more ancient, a church and the precincts of a church afforded sanctuary to accused persons. This quality of an asylum, with all its privileges and immunities, can be traced to very remote antiquity in history, both sacred and profane. The Jews had their six cities of refuge, and their asylums or sanctuaries; the most solemn of which were the temple and the altar of burnt offerings.<sup>1</sup>

The *asyla* of temples and altars were well known to the classical ages, as were likewise those of tombs, statues, and monumental edifices, dedicated to heroic personages. Great was Diana of the Ephesians in affording refuge for debtors; the tomb of Theseus was resorted to by fugitive slaves; several ancient cities inscribed on their medals their conscious joy and exultation in the refuge and protection they had at all times afforded to the unfortunate and oppressed,—and it was a manly, an honest, and a virtuous pride; such as Englishmen are in the habit of cherishing, and other nations respect them for feeling.

But the motive of conferring such privileges was, it must be confessed, not always equally pure and disinterested.

<sup>1</sup> Exod. xxxv, 16.

Such immunities were not always afforded from humanity, or from superstition; but sometimes impunity was offered to the worst offenders, for the sake of peopling their cities. It was by this mean, and with such subjects, that Thebes, Athens, and Rome, were said to have been first supplied with inhabitants. In order to people Rome, Romulus opened a celebrated asylum between the mounts Palatine and Capitoline, for all sorts of persons indiscriminately,—fugitives, slaves, debtors, and criminals of every kind; and the result was satisfactory. In process of time the turbid stream ran itself clear. In each instance was eventually exhibited, from out the fermentation of a fierce and lawless banditti, the imposing spectacle of a free and majestic people, obedient to their self-imposed, equitable laws,—and imposing them, as conquerors, on others.

The emperors Honorius and Theodosius granted the same rights of asylum, with full immunities, to the Christian churches as were theretofore accorded to ancient temples and altars among the heathen. The bishops and monks, in every case of consecration, secured a certain moderate tract of surrounding territory, *ultra* which they fixed the bounds of secular jurisdiction. Convents, in a little time, resembled fortresses, from which offenders braved the power of the civil magistrate. Rome is said to have become one vast sanctuary. The privileges soon extended from churches and churchyards to the houses of bishops, abbots, and other religious persons; for the criminals could not, it was obvious, with convenience or decency, congregate and live altogether and solely in the churches. And from such religious houses they could not be removed without a legal assurance of life and a conditional remission of their crimes.

But to return to England, with which we are chiefly concerned. The privilege of sanctuary was very early established in this country; and upon such privilege of sanctuary was founded abjuration. When a man or woman had committed a felony, and the offender, for the preservation of life, had fled to the sanctuary of a church or churchyard, and there, before the local coroner, within forty days, confessed the felony and sworn an oath of perpetual banishment out of the realm into a foreign country, preferring expatriation to capital punishment (*perdere patriam quam vitam*),—this was abjuration according to the ancient law of England.



But the foreign country into which the offender was to be exiled was subject to one restriction,—that it must not be amongst infidels. (See laws of Canute.) A crucifix was delivered to the exile, which he bore in his hand for his protection on his journey through highways and byways and pathless wilds. But though this sacred emblem would, it was firmly believed, tame lions and savage beasts (as was notorious in the case mentioned by St. Jerome, when the *same* lions which had digged with their paws St. Paul the Eremite's grave, stood before the cross patiently waiting St. Anthony's blessing), yet its influence upon tribes of savage men and infidels was nevertheless much mistrusted. Becket, bearing aloft a cross in his hands as his protection, bearded king Henry II in his own palace; but Becket was murdered in front of the altar,—an atrocious violation of sanctuary, a dreadful act, for which the greatest prince of his age publicly did penance.

Now, having explained and defined sanctuary and abjuration, let us examine the extent of the privilege upon the reliable authorities. Spelman, on the authority of Matthew of Westminster, ascribes to the unknown time of the invaluable king Lucius, a law for the protection of churches and churchyards; but goes no further. Ina, king of the West Saxons, certainly promulgated, in 693, a code of laws, in which the fifth law treats of the immunity of sanctuary, and provides that if any one accused of a capital crime flies to a church, his life shall be spared, and he shall make a compensation according to justice; which is vague as a law, but probably recognizes an existing custom, having been passed at a great council or synod. Indeed, there is sufficient proof that the custom of taking sanctuary in Christian churches existed in the fourth century, before it was sanctioned by any distinct law. The first law of Theodosius, made in 392, rather regulates the privileges of sanctuary than establishes them. Sanctuary first received the papal sanction of pope Boniface I, about 620. What shows that, at first, the general privilege of sanctuary was intended to be only temporary, is the circumstance that the laws of Alfred gave sanctuary for three nights only, to enable the criminal to compound for his offence, and awarded, in addition to the price of the injury, one hundred and twenty shillings (a large sum in those days) to the priest or minister for every violence offered to

the fugitives. (Laws of Alfred, A.D. 887.) But there also were, as will be seen hereafter, certain places in which the protection was permanent. The constitutions of Clarendon, in Henry II, established the space of forty days for remaining in sanctuary. In other respects, sanctuary became more definite both as to time and space. The laws of the Conqueror (William I) recognized the extension of the privilege from the church and churchyard to the house and premises of the priest.

In different churches the privilege of sanctuary appears to have always varied as regards locality. At Durham the sanctuary was confined to the church and churchyard and its circuit. The liberties of St. John of Beverley extended, first, from the church for a mile<sup>1</sup> every way; the second boundaries were designated by crosses of rich carving; the third commenced at the entrance of the church; the sixth included the high altar and the fridstol, a stone chair near the altar, which conferred the greatest security. At Hexham it was called the "frith stool". If a person should take a malefactor from this sixth enclosure, or holiest place, he would be "botelos"; his offence would be such as no price could redeem. Of the sanctuary of the cathedral of Norwich I have found nothing; but St. Gregory's, Norwich, is mentioned as a church frequently used as a place of refuge, with long porches, north and south, and lofty chambers over them adapted for the reception and accommodation of fugitives. Were all large porches, with convenient rooms over them, originally devoted to such purposes, and not mere muniment rooms, or priests' rooms? It deserves consideration. A murderer who took sanctuary at St. Nicholas, Yarmouth, abjured before the coroner and bailiff, and was allowed port at Erwell, in 1297; and Blomefield says such cases were frequent under Edward I, Edward II, and Edward III.

Sanctuary was the root, says sir Edward Coke, abjuration the branch: whoever was not capable of sanctuary, could not have the benefit of abjuration. Thus, he that committed sacrilege, "because he could not have the privilege of sanctuary, could not abjure." (3 Inst., 115.) As the influence of the priests had thus excluded from the privilege of sanctuary persons committing the offence of sacrilege, so it might have been expected that kings and princes would prevail to

<sup>1</sup> And more; *leuca*, full a mile and a half.

exclude from protection all those who stood accused of high treason. But it was not so, at this period. In times of frightful violence it was not surprising, and must, indeed, have been convenient to all parties (oppressed and oppressors by turns), that a temporary asylum should be provided, and a quiet retreat permitted, for desperate men truly or falsely accused of crimes of blood and rapine. And for great rebels, apostates from feudalism, often when a lordly subject was found too turbulent to be retained peaceably within his kingdom, and too powerful to bring to the scaffold for his crimes, a king might be too glad to see such an offender abjure the realm and transport himself.

Hallam speaks too generally (*Middle Ages*, 351) when he says "the protection of a sanctuary was never withheld"; for it was refused, it has been shewn, in the case of sacrilege. But this is no impeachment of the general accuracy of a valuable constitutional writer. He proceeds to furnish an instance of sanctuary being enforced and respected by the most lawless and tyrannical rulers; but that *sub modo*, and in a non-literal sense, surely, as to the *respect*: or rather the rapacious, ravaging princes of that barbarous time evinced their respect for religion in a way peculiarly their own. A son of Chilperic, king of France, having committed some offence, and fled to the sanctuary of Tours, his father threatened to ravage all the lands of the church unless they gave up his son. The bishop of the city replied, in the name of his clergy, that Christians could not be guilty of an act unheard of amongst pagans. The king was as good as his word, and did not spare the estates of the church, while he dared not infringe its privileges. That considerate and pious prince had, indeed, previously addressed a letter to St. Martin (the patron saint) requesting permission to take away his son by force. The letter was laid upon St. Martin's tomb in the church; but the honest saint returned no answer.

King Henry II, when, by the constitutions of Clarendon, he had corrected many abuses in ecclesiastical affairs, and put a timely stop to the continual usurpations of the clergy, provided among those articles that "goods forfeited to the king should not be protected in churches or churchyards."

Our Henry VII, conscious of the badness of his title, lived in constant dread of the appearance of a claimant to the crown. That suspicious and jealous tyrant obtained from



pope Innocent a bull not quite invalidating, but greatly qualifying, the privileges of sanctuary in cases of treason, and providing that "if any took sanctuary in case of treason, the king might appoint keepers *to look to him*." (Lord Bacon, 39.) The children of Clarence, drooping in prison the greater part of their miserable lives, and cruelly executed for attempting to regain their natural liberty, explains what it meant "*to be looked to*."

The law of sanctuary, says sir Edward Coke, had saved the life of many a man, and continued without change until an act made 22nd Henry VIII, cap. 14, wherein it was provided that the party abjured should not be banished out of the realm, but sent to some other sanctuary within the kingdom. These fixed sanctuaries were of great antiquity. It is said that several privileged places for the safety of offenders were appointed in England by king Lucius. And who knows when that was? St. John's, of Beverley, was privileged in the time of the Saxons; St. Beurin's, in Cornwall, was privileged by Athelstan; Westminster, by Edward the Confessor; Eastminster, by somebody; and St. Martin's-le-Grand in 1529. The usual consequences of crude and superfluous legislation are said to have followed the provision of Henry VIII.

Abjuration, sir Edward Coke says, was exceedingly intricate and perplexed by the said act of king Henry VIII, and several succeeding acts made to amend it. So says Coke,—in general, too implicitly followed by lawyers. No doubt in this reign of Henry VIII the privileges of sanctuary were materially altered. It was complained that persons who had abjured had, in many instances, instructed foreigners in archery (in which we at that time greatly excelled), and disclosed the secrets of the realm,—surely a very intelligible reason for abandoning the practice of sending them out of the country. Immediately after his confession, and before his abjuration, an offender, it was now provided, was to be branded by the coroner with a hot iron, upon the thumb of his right hand, with the letter A, that he might be known by all persons to have abjured. If he went out of sanctuary he was liable to be brought to trial for his offence. As the privileges of sanctuary were still further restrained by repeated laws of this reign, the protected person was afterwards made to wear a distinguishing badge or cognizance; and now, though not before, all persons accused of high treason



were exempted from the privileges of sanctuary by 26th and 28th of Henry VIII: at last, in 21st Jac. I, it was enacted that no sanctuary, or privilege of sanctuary, should be admitted or allowed in any case. And here ends the history of sanctuary in England after the allowance of the privilege for upwards of five hundred years.

The method of claiming sanctuary, and the ceremonies observed while it existed, remain to be noticed. These seem to have varied according to the customs of different churches. At Durham, persons who took refuge fled to the north door and knocked for admission. There were two chambers over the north door, in which men slept for the purpose of admitting such fugitives at any hour of the night. As soon as any one was so admitted, the Galilee bell was immediately tolled, to give notice that some fugitive had taken sanctuary. The offender was required to declare, before credible witnesses (often the prior's gentleman, the master of the grammar school, and the matron) the nature of his offence, and to toll the bell in token of his demanding the privilege of sanctuary. Every one who had the security at Durham was provided with a gown of black cloth with a yellow cross upon the left shoulder. They lay in "a græte" adjoining the galilee, and were provided with meat and drink for thirty-seven days. At Beverley they had food in the refectory, and a lodging in the dormitory, for thirty days. At the end of that time they were conducted in safety to the borders of the county. They could claim the same security a second time; but for a third protection afforded, the result was, the fugitive became permanently a servant of the church.

The oath imposed upon each person on admission to the sanctuary of Beverley is given in p. 111 of the *Sanctuarium Beverlacense*. After answering what man he had killed, and wherewith, and both their names, "gar him lay his hand upon the boke, saying in this wise, 'Sir, take heed, on your oath you shall be faithful and trew to the lord archbishop; shall bere good herte to the bailis and governors; shall beare no pointed wepen or dagger against the peace; shall be ready, if there be debate, or strife, or sothen fire, to help to surcease it; shall do your dewte at ringing, and for to offer at the messe in the morn,'" etc. The Durham notices of sanctuary, recorded in the cathedral register, begin June 18, 1464. "*Peticio immunitatis*" is written in the margin, and occasion-

ally the name of the fugitive. The Beverley register begins about 1478.

Here is the general form of confession and abjuration, preserved by Rastall: "This, hear thou, sir coroner, that I, A. B., of D., am a robber of sheep (or other beasts or cattle), or a murderer of one or of mo, and a felon of our lord the king of England, &c. I do abjure the land of our lord Edward king of England; and I shall haste me towards the port of such a place which thou hast given me; and at such a place I will diligently seek for passage; and I will go every day into the sea, up to my knees, assaying to pass over," etc. He was compelled to keep the straight way to the shipping place, and forbidden to stay in one place two nights together.

Those who wish to form a conception of the lowest depth to which a privileged place of the kind not only was capable of arriving, but actually had attained, at the period of the abolition, will find graphically described, with the misery and all the license of the place, in sir Walter Scott's delineation of Alsatia. Alsatia was the fancy name for the sanctuary of White Friars, or the church of the Carmelites, in Fleet-street, peopled by roaring blades, swaggering desperadoes, thieves of every grade, whores and their bullies, sots, gamesters, usurers, and ruffians of every sort; and, if the truth is to be told, occasionally resorted to by some of the wildest of their next neighbours, the roystering Templars. The wailing of children, the scolding of mothers, the miserable exhibition of ragged linen hung to dry from the windows of ruinous houses, all spoke the wants and distresses of the wretched inhabitants; while the sounds of complaint were overpowered by the riotous shouts, oaths, profane songs, and boisterous laughter, that issued from every other house of deep potation (either ale house or gin palace). "Let other societies," said their orator, "live by the law; we brisk boys of the Fleet live in spite of it, and thrive best when we are in right opposition to sign and seal, writ and warrant, serjeant and tipstaff, catchpoll and bum-bailey. I charm thee from each, and I charm thee from all." (*The Wizard*, Walter Scott.)

But there was sanctuary, as there are sorrows, for all classes. Fallen from their high estate, the great of the earth become desolate and oppressed,—the widowed queen, the orphan prince, and the discarded and deserted minister, found there the same refuge with the poor and lowly. Among me-

morale instances of persons of celebrity, or historical importance, having availed themselves of the privilege of sanctuary, occur the following: Hubert de Burgh, chief justiciary of England, the able and virtuous minister of king Henry III, when, in a fit of sudden caprice, that weak king threw off his faithful servant, and left him "naked to his enemies", took sanctuary in a church. The king, rash as frivolous, ordered the fugitive to be dragged from thence, but was obliged by the clergy to restore him to the sanctuary. In that same king's disordered reign, when popular clamour was growing loud against the king's attachment to foreigners and profusion to favourites, the associated barons fell with violence upon the king's Gascon half-brothers. One of the three brothers, Aymer, who had been appointed to the see of Winchester, took shelter in his episcopal palace, and carried the others along with him. They were surrounded in that place, and threatened to be dragged out by force. The king now pleaded the sacredness of an ecclesiastical sanctuary, but was only able to extricate his half-brothers from their danger by banishing them the kingdom. During the same disorders the Lombard bankers, as usurers, were exposed to the blind rage of the people. By taking sanctuary in a church they escaped with their lives; but what they loved almost as dearly, their money, became a prey to the multitude. Skelton, poet laureate to king Henry VIII, and rector of Diss in Norfolk, by the caustic severity of his satire upon the Dominican friars, and on cardinal Wolsey, drew down upon himself much of the *odium theologicum*. At the instigation of the friars, the bishop of Norwich called him to account for keeping a concubine. Skelton said he had always looked upon her as a wife, but did not declare it, because fornication in the clergy was thought a *little* sin, and marriage a *great* one." He was so persecuted by the bishop and clergy for the bad use of his wit, that he was forced to take sanctuary in Westminster, where he died, and lies buried in St. Margaret's church.

When Margaret of Anjou received intelligence of the defeat and death of the earl of Warwick in the battle of Barnet, and of her husband's captivity, her courage, which had supported her under so many disastrous events, here left her for a time, and she at first took sanctuary in the abbey of Beaulieu. But she soon resumed her former spirit, took the



field, and fought and lost the battle of Tewkesbury. The duke of Somerset, and about twenty other persons of distinction, took refuge in a church. The bloody Yorkists and their ferocious leader, Edward IV, were not the persons to respect sanctuary. The church was surrounded, the Lancastrians dragged out and immediately beheaded.

Another queen, of the opposite faction, when her enlightened brother, lord Rivers, and her son, lord Richard Gray, were arrested by the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, and sent to Pontefract, where they were soon decapitated, the wretched, widowed queen of Edward IV, fled to Westminster, and took refuge there, with her son the duke of York, and the princesses her daughters. There the archbishop of York, then chancellor of England, resorting to her majesty, found her sitting alone—"alow on the rushes, all desolate and dismayed"; whom the bishop comforted in the best manner he could, says sir Thomas More; that is, he assured the distressed mother that if anything happened to her eldest son, he would crown his brother. This archbishop himself afterwards crowned Richard!

Some writers complain of the ill-directed religious zeal under which, for so many centuries, whatever place or building was consecrated by the clergy for any religious use, served to screen offenders from the justice of the law, and the sentences passed upon them for their crimes. The dukes of Buckingham and Gloucester, when desirous of removing the little ill-fated duke of York from the sanctuary of Westminster, held, according to sir Thomas More, this disapproving strain. "Unthrifths," said Buckingham, "riot and run in debt upon the boldness of these places. Men's wives run thither with their husbands' plate, and say they dare not abide with their husbands from the dread of beating. Thieves bring thither stolen goods, and there live thereupon, and there devise new robberies." Sly Richard of Gloster continued the tale: "What," he said, "if a man's wife will take sanctuary because she list to run away from her husband, I would ween, if she can allege no other cause, he may lawfully, with no displeasure to St. Peter, take her out of St. Peter's church by the arm. If nobody may be taken out of sanctuary that saith he wills to abide there, then, if a child take sanctuary because he feareth to go to school, his master must let him alone. Verily, I have often heard of sanctuary men; but I



have never heard erst of sanctuary children. He who taketh one out of sanctuary to do him good, I say plainly that he breaketh no sanctuary."

The poor queen said: "God's law privilegeeth the sanctuary, and the sanctuary protecteth my son, since I fear to put him in his uncle's hands, who hath his brother already; and were, if both failed, inheritor to the crown" (not claiming for her daughters). "But whosoever he be who breaketh this holy sanctuary, I pray God send *him* shortly need of sanctuary, when he may not come to it; for taken out of sanctuary, would I not my mortal enemy were. This is not the first time that I have taken sanctuary; for when my lord, my husband, was banished and thrust out of his kingdom, I fled hither, being great with child, and here I bear the prince" (Edward V).

The sanctuary of Westminster, be it observed, was distinct and separate from the minster, and consisted of a large church very strongly built; so much so that it was found extremely difficult to take it to pieces in comparatively modern times.<sup>1</sup>

The large knocker upon the north door of Durham cathedral is believed to have been the one actually used for the purpose of sanctuary. It is a huge head of some arch potentate, but it is doubtful of whom; and the expression of the countenance is certainly not prepossessing or angelic. But it is said to be undoubtedly true that the head, to whomsoever belonging, always drops fried pancakes on Shrove Tuesday, if any one will hold a white napkin under it *long enough!* (See *Rites of Durham*, Surtees Papers.) The stone chair, called "frith stool", is still carefully preserved in the church of Hexham. The ornaments upon it assign it to the Norman period. There is a representation of a similar knocker upon the north door of All Saints, Pavement, York (see Parker); and on the belfry door of St. Gregory's, Norwich, a brass escutcheon, forming part of a similar knocker, but the ring is gone. (*Norfolk Archaeology*, by Mr. Harrod.) The cathedral registers of Durham contain an instance (No. 30) of two murderers who had escaped detection for eight or nine years, and are at last made manifest to the world. No. 32 is where the murder had been committed *eighteen* years before the sanctuary was claimed. No. 7, a murder in which a tailor acts a part. Tailors perpetually occur as principals or acces-

<sup>1</sup> See *Archæologia*, i, 39-44, and Pennant's *London*.



saries in deeds of blood in these records. No. 97, a man kills a woman in self-defence, and resorts to the sanctuary of St. Cuthbert. In the *Sanctuarium Beverlucense*, No. 231, Robert Beaumont, a person of education, and Elizabeth Beaumont, gentlewoman, of the Beaumonts of Yorkshire, charge themselves with the death of Thomas Alderley. This is the first lady who has been admitted to the sanctuary.

No. 70 of the Durham register affords the most precise information. A man from Walsingham is committed to prison for a theft. He escapes, and seeks refuge in the cathedral of Durham. He takes his stand before the shrine of St. Cuthbert, and begs for a coroner. A coroner attends, and hears his confession. The culprit, in the presence of the sacrist and sheriff, by a solemn oath renounces the kingdom. He strips to his shirt, and gives up his clothing to the sacrist as a fee. The sacrist restores the clothing. A white cross of wood is put into the culprit's hand. *Cruce signatus*, he is consigned to the under-sheriff, who commits him to the care of the nearest constable, who hands him over to the next in the direction of the coast. The last constable puts him into a ship, and he bids an eternal farewell to his country, "*nunquam rediturus*". The details are admirably given, concluding, "*acta fuerunt hæc sub anno Domini, mense, die, et loco predictus.*"

Richard duke of Gloucester, in his history by sir Thomas More, is made to inveigh against sanctuary in plausible language. It was not long before, when it served his selfish and mercenary purpose, that he gladly availed himself of the temporary protection which a sanctuary afforded to the oppressed. Lady Anne Nevill had been betrothed, not married, as those who derive history from Shakespeare have always believed ("*desponsata fuit*" is what history saith), to Edward prince of Wales, son of Henry VI. Widow or maid, Richard duke of Gloster sought her for his wife,—and why? On account of her rich inheritance, which would surely have been wholly forfeited to the crown had she been the actual wife of a Lancastrian prince taken bearing arms against the then king. But, as is clear by the designs upon her, she now held her own,—and that, in truth, was well worth having. Clarence, who had married the eldest sister, was unwilling to share with another the vast Nevill estates, and therefore concealed, disguised, and disfigured the unfortunate

young lady; but, like a weak fool as he was, as well as a greedy rogue, he did the kidnapping in a bungling manner. Gloucester, at all times a sharp, unprincipled fellow, discovered the ill-used lady Anne. Where and how concealed? In the greasy garb of a cook wench, in the middle of London! Richard became her deliverer, rescued her from her degrading position, treated her with deferential respect, and alertly removed her to the sanctuary of St. Martin. Poor lady Ann, the victim of the jealousy and rapacity of the two Yorkist princes, found a brief repose under this consecrated roof, till the king made his adjudication in the case; by which he gave her hand to Gloucester, but divided equally her extensive property between his own two brothers. And she who brought the vast estates into the family, the widowed dame, the countess of Warwick, lady Ann's mother, already despoiled of all and reduced to absolute want by the vindictiveness of king Edward IV, when Richard had married her daughter, was still left in the same destitute condition. But what did his Lancastrian successor to repair this crying wrong? He indignantly declared that she had been unjustly deprived of her property; he justly and truly called the treatment of her shameful and unnatural. Henry restored all her possessions to her, and then (as wicked and as false as Richard, but not half so brave or so clever) he compelled the poor countess to convey the whole of her immense property to her vindicator and redresser—to himself; except one sole manor left for her maintenance. What amiable people these! how well worth fighting for, both York and Lancaster!

In such times, had not the protection of the sanctuary its intrinsic value, though incontestably, under a due administration of justice, it would be purely mischievous? Its abuses were confessedly great, and perhaps they were inseparable from its use. This admission, no doubt, strongly impugns the value of the use abstractedly; but there are often, even in evil things, saving qualities combined, we wot not of; unsuspected ways of tempering the wind to the shorn lamb;—convincing proofs that there is a providence “which shapes men's ends, rough hew them how *they* may”. And there is, what may suffice for the present, a plainer though not a truer lesson of homely wisdom, which teaches “a time and a season for all things;” and thus judged, sanctuary was adapted to its age.

“In the rapine and tumult of the middle ages,” observes their awakened historian, with unusual animation of style, “the right of sanctuary might as often be a shield to innocence as an immunity to crime. We can hardly regret, in reflecting on the desolating violence which then prevailed, that there should have been some green spots in the wilderness, where the feeble and the persecuted could find refuge. How must the right of sanctuary, at such a time, have enhanced the veneration for religious institutions! How gladly must the victims of internal warfare have turned their eyes from the baronial castle, the dread and scourge of the neighbourhood, to those venerable walls, within which not even the clamour of arms could be heard, to disturb the chaunt of holy men and the sacred service of the altar!”

## THE CONVENT OF BLACK FRIARS, NORWICH.

BY T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A., VICE-PRESIDENT AND TREASURER.

REMAINS of considerable interest in connexion with this ancient establishment are yet presented to our view. The great hall of St. Andrew, in which we are now assembled, though at this time used for civic, festive, and charitable purposes, originally constituted the nave of the conventual building; and that which is known as the Dutch church formed the choir. Mr. Harrod<sup>1</sup> has traced its history with accuracy, and given to us a plan exhibiting the periods embraced by the building, namely the DECORATED and the PERPENDICULAR. It will therefore be seen not to lay claim to a very early date. To the thirteenth century must be ascribed the settlement of the monastic orders in Norwich. The Black Friars, or Dominicans, took the lead in 1226; and about the same time, probably, also the Grey Friars, or Franciscans; whilst the White Friars, or Carmelites, were thirty years later; and the Augustine Friars as late as 1290. The black,

<sup>1</sup> Gleanings among the Castles and Convents of Norfolk, pp. 71-96.



grey, white, and Austin, were all begging friars, having no resources beyond living upon the charity of the public, which they were permitted to solicit. In 1259, limits were assigned to the black friars of Norwich and those of Dunwich, giving to the former the county of Norfolk to beg in. Kirkpatrick has recorded the memorandum relating to this arrangement.<sup>1</sup> The river which divides Norfolk from Suffolk established the limitation of the Norwich from the Dunwich friars.

In 1262 the Black Friars of Norwich, in common with others of their order, received a bull from pope Urban directing them to preach a crusade for the relief of the Holy Land, at that time overrun by the Tartars. Mr. Kirkpatrick saw among their records at Norwich an exemplification under the seal of friar Robert, the provincial prior, of twelve bulls of the said pope, directed to the prior provincial of the friar preachers in England, concerning this business, which is dated at Oxford on Sexagesima Sunday, A.D. 1262; but the seal was lost, and the impression much impaired by wet.<sup>2</sup> This was one of the means resorted to to obtain money from the people, who were urged to take upon them the sign of the cross, and hasten to the relief of the land; and in return for the aid of their exertions and their purses, free pardon of their sins, privilege, and immunity, were granted by an act of general council. Forty to one hundred days of pardon were also permitted to be given to such as came to their preachings for this purpose, which they were authorized to attend processionally. Those who, by reason of infirmity, were unable to take the voyage to the Holy Land, and were incapacitated for conflict, were authorized to be absolved upon taking the sign of the cross upon them, and depositing money for the redemption of such vows in some safe place, etc. To such an extent was the obtaining of money carried, that, by a bull, the friars had given to them the power to absolve all who, for laying violent hands on religious persons, and for burning of churches and other religious places, etc., were under the sentence of excommunication, provided they made satisfaction for the damages done. Mr. Kirkpatrick gives the terms and conditions of various bulls to the same effect, all bearing the date of 1262 (the first year of the pontificate of Urban), and upon which he observes: "So that we see no grant or indulgence procured from the papal

<sup>1</sup> History of the Religious Orders, etc., p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 9.

see, though with great expense, was of any force longer than the pope pleased; for he could easily make them void in a new bull, when it served his purpose (that is, his profit), with a new *non obstante* to any former privilege."<sup>1</sup>

But to confine my observations as much as possible to the locality of Norwich, the scene of operations by the Black Friars at this time, I must remark that, although this description of friar was the first to congregate together here, it was not at this spot the remains I desire to draw your attention to are situated. The Black Friars first established themselves on the other side of the river. Whatever may have been the disadvantage of this situation,—whether not sufficiently central or otherwise, is unknown,—but it is a fact that they removed, and in 1307 obtained a grant of a house of a smaller (a Penitential) order, then dissolved, called the Friars of the Sack, and two years afterwards settled themselves in this locality.

The FIRST HOUSE (according to Kirkpatrick<sup>2</sup>) was on the north side of Colegate, near the chapel of St. John the Baptist, over the water. This church, he says, they possessed about the year 1250, and there made their monastery, extending it from time to time. From the same authority we learn that in 1307, as just stated, they obtained the houses of the Saccites, the friars *de Pœnitentiâ*; and the former habitation was then called the "Olde Freres Yerde." The site of the original convent of the Sack Friars, Mr. Harrod<sup>3</sup> has shewn, by deeds preserved in the muniment room of the Guildhall, stood between the hall and the river, and not as both Blomefield and Kirkpatrick have stated. This property they acquired after the statute of mortmain, and the friars were obliged to obtain an inquisition, *anno* 4, *Richard II*, to relieve themselves from the penalties attaching to such a breach of the law. Mr. Kirkpatrick exposes the fraudulent character of the statement upon which this inquisition was obtained.<sup>4</sup>

The SECOND HOUSE was obtained upon the suppression of the friars *de Pœnitentiâ* by a charter of 1st Edward II, by which they held their habitation upon the payment, *in capite*, of three half-pence yearly, paid to the farm of the city of Norwich. In 1310, the license from the pope, Clement V,

<sup>1</sup> Hist. of Religious Orders, etc., p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Gleanings, etc., p. 75.

<sup>4</sup> Hist. of Religious Orders, etc., pp. 20, 21.

was granted, and afterwards confirmed by pope John. In 1332 a complaint on the part of the citizens was made to Edward III, accusing the friars of having obtained, by virtue of his royal father's grant, divers lands and tenements, without having it founded upon inquisition, and otherwise making detriment to the city. A writ was therefore directed to William Trussell, an escheator on this side Trent, to inquire into the matter, and henceforth prohibit and prevent the friars from entering into or holding any lands or tenements without inquisitions properly taken and returned into Chancery, and upon which license should be obtained. In 1345 a charter was granted by Edward III, confirming to the friars all their new acquisitions, and the prior and friars pardoned for their transgressions; from which, according to Kirkpatrick,<sup>1</sup> the friars, as they had done on the other side of the water, got the whole chequer of ground into their hands, which abuts on the river north, on the street leading from St. Andrew's church to Tombland south, on the street leading from the said church to Black Friars' bridge west, and on the street which leads from the street first mentioned past the west end of St. Peter's of Hungate church, and on the houses next the river east. In this large ground they built their church, in the midst, from one side of the ground to the other; and on the north side of that, their cloisters; and next the river side, their malthouse and brewhouse. The ground on the south side of their church they kept void, to serve for a large preaching yard. The church, he adds, is extraordinarily large,—large enough for the use of ten such monasteries; but the grand reason of that custom of spacious churches for the friars, was, that they might have commodious room to inter in them great numbers of gentry and other rich persons, who, being persuaded that the having sepulture in these churches tended much to the advantage of their souls after death, usually gave large sums of money to the friars for this favour.<sup>2</sup>

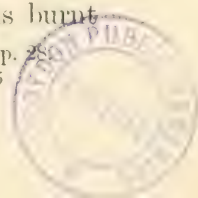
The earlier part of the building belongs to the DECORATED period, including that beautiful portion known as Becket's chapel, which Mr. Harrod thinks constituted the crypt of their first church, and built on the site of the church of the Sack Friars. A finer church is conjectured to have been built between 1345 and 1350; but the convent was burnt

<sup>1</sup> Hist. of Religious Orders, etc., p. 27.

1858

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 28.

15





down in 1413 or 1414 (anno 1 Henry V), and the monks were obliged to return to their former house, the other side of the river, where, in 1449, another fire expelled them, and they returned to St. Andrew's parish. The church was rebuilt in a more sumptuous manner in the reign of Henry VI.<sup>1</sup> This is the building to which sir Thomas Erpingham is esteemed to have been a great benefactor, his armorial bearings being cut in the stone work, between every two of the upper windows on the south side. The steeple was built by the assistance of sir Simon Felbrigg, his arms likewise appearing on this curious and beautiful part of the work.

Mr. Kirkpatrick gives an account of several persons of eminence buried in the church from 1372 to 1529, extracted from the registers of their wills (pp. 29-36), together with various sums given for the permission of the same, praying for their souls, etc.. In 1452, Edmund Segeford wills his body to be buried in the church of the Friars Preachers, near the window glazed with the history of the psalm *Magnificat*; and bequeaths to the friars five marks yearly, for ten years, for saying mass for his soul and the souls of all for whom he is bound. Twenty pounds are also left to the convent. Many bequeathed sums for the repairs of the building, and to the improvement of the library. A most liberal benefactor occurs in Philippe Cursone, "gentilman and aldyrman", who died in 1502, having willed his body to be buried in the church of St. Andrew of Letherinsett. He also wills to have "a marbyll stone, with my name and armes, layd upon my grave. *Item.* I will have sung St. Gregory's Trentall,<sup>2</sup> at the Black Freres, in Norwich, with his other devotions, at the autier on the right hand in their church, for me, Watys my father, Margarett my mother, Joane, late my wyffe, etc. He that sings, to have 10 shillings be yer toward his abite and clothing; and so the next poor priest & freer the same, by the space of twenty yeres. Also I will have my year-day kepyd ther twenty-three or thirty-one years; & I give 12 of the best zewes, & a ramme, & the encrease, to go to the sustentacion of the sayd preste." Robert Bar-

<sup>1</sup> Vide Pat., 27th Hen. VI, p. 1, m. xvii, vol. xviii, De Domo Fratrum Prædicatorum Norwici, per subitum ignis infortunium miserabiliter combusto.

<sup>2</sup> It is sometimes called *tristennale* and *tricennale*; and, according to Mr. Stapleton, was an office of thirty masses, performed during as many days, for the deceased. Dugdale (Mr. Stapleton says) has erroneously translated *tricennale* as "month's mind." (See *De Antiquis Legibus*, præf., p. clxx.)



nard, in 1509, bequeathed to the convent, "to pray for me, my wyff, &c., six marks; & a gown of cremsyn damask, to make a cheseble theroff"; & Elizabeth Felmyngham, widow, in 1522, willed to be buried by her husband, John Holdliche, esq.; and bequeathed various sums: "to every frier, being a preste there, 8*d.*; to every novice, 4*d.*; to 4 prestes that shall beyre my corse to the said church, 4*s.*; to the repair of their house, 13*s.* 4*d.*, besides the 40*s.* which I have already given them; six shillings & 8*d.* yerely, for 20 yeres, to keep an obite; to the repair of the church steeple of Felmyngham, 13*s.* 4*d.*; a cope of 20 marks, with the arms of the said J. Holdliche, to be given to the church of Fouldon. *Item.* I woll that my executours do make a plate of laten, gilt, with an ymage pictured in the same of our Lady; & also an ymage of my husband, J. Holdliche, kneeling on the oone side, with his two soones & myn kneeling by him, with a scoching of his armes & myn; & the oone of them in his winding-sheet, and the other, Robert Holdliche, in his cott armour, byfor the said ymage; & I & my three daughters & his, in their winding-shetes, behind me, in the said plate; with scriptures concerning where we lye. And the said plate to be sett in a wall, as near my said husband's grave & myn as may be conveniently, by the discretion of my executors."

The convent received many benefactions from others not desiring burial in their church. Thus Henry III gave to them ten marks in the fifty-sixth of his reign. But of all means of obtaining money for the support of the convent, that by letters of confraternity is unquestionably most to be condemned. It was, however, a practice common to all orders. These letters were sold; by which it was to be understood that the friars parcelled out their own merits to such as should be inclined to purchase them; and the number of the credulous in such matters appears to have been considerable. The friars carried these instruments about with them, and in reality exposed them for sale, a blank being left for the insertion of the recipient's name. Mr. Kirkpatrick saw one of these original letters, and he has handed down to us a translation of the same. It runs thus :

"To the devout, and our beloved in Christ, John Bery and Margery his wife, and Margaret her mother, friar Robert Felmyngham, humble professor (Sacra Societatis) of divinity, and prior provincial of the order of friars preachers of England (wisheth) health and continual increase of

celestial graces. The affection of your devotion which you have to our order requiring it, I grant you a special participation as well in life as death, by the tenor of (these) presents, of all the masses, prayers, preachings, fasts, abstinences, watchings, labours, and all other good things which, by the brethren and sisters of our order, the Lord hath granted to be done throughout the whole province of England. And I will, moreover, and order that, after your decease, your souls shall be recommended to the prayers of the brethren and sisters of the whole province, in our provincial chapter ("si vestri ibidem fuerint nunciati"), if we shall be there acquainted with it. And masses and prayers shall be enjoined for them, as has been accustomed for our brethren and sisters deceased. In testimony of which thing the seal of my office is appended to (these) presents. Dated at Norwich, A.D. M.CCCCC.VII.

"FRIER WILLIAM BRYGGS, PRIOR."

Mr. Harrod has examined the register of wills of the archdeaconry of Norwich, which commence about the year 1470 ; and he remarks that, until about 1520, almost without exception, they contained in the first, or testamentary portion, very large bequests for church purposes at the parish church, for forgotten offerings, towards repairs, lights,<sup>1</sup> guilds connected with it, for funeral services to be performed, and often for the adornment of the building.<sup>2</sup> These wills were probably chiefly drawn up by, or under the supervision of, the ecclesiastics in those times. Mortuary gifts are generally named in testamentary documents. They are bequeathed as a recompense for personal tithes, and offerings not duly attended to during the life of the testator.

Among the records of this monastery, mention is made of Isabella, the queen of Edward IV, together with her daughters and suite, having in 1470 lodged therein ; and a library, according to Kirkpatrick, was attached to it. The library was a long building, running from west to east ; but Leland mentions only three works as seen by him.<sup>3</sup> These were not of importance, being *Distinctiones Theologiæ*, by William of Lincoln ; Cosby *super Apocalypsim* ; and Fyzaker *super Primum Nocturnum Psalterii usque ad "Deus meus, respice"*. The choir of the church was adorned with wainscot, curiously painted and gilt, representing various historical passages of scripture, legendary tales, etc., which was bought

<sup>1</sup> The amount for candles and lamps burning before altars was very considerable.

<sup>2</sup> Norfolk Archaeology, i, 111.

<sup>3</sup> Collectanea, iii, p. 26.

at the suppression of the monastery by an inhabitant of St. Andrew's parish, and fixed about the parlour of his house.<sup>1</sup> Inscriptions were upon the lower rails of the wainscoting, and record benefactions made to the monastery. The name of Edmund Segeford occurs in these records. Two guilds met in the Black Friars: in 1521 that of "St. Wylliam", and in 1527 "of the Holie Roode".

The Black Friars of Norwich is one of the few conventual establishments that escaped demolition in the reign of Henry VIII. Before the suppression of the monasteries, the citizens of Norwich took measures to obtain possession of it for their own use; and foremost in this work appears one Austyn Styward, alderman, the most active and public spirited man in Norwich, who, in the thirtieth year of this reign, made application to the duke of Norfolk "to have his grace's will and pleasure if the commonalty shall make suit to the king's grace, to have the grant of the Black Friars' house, which is thought shall be suppressed, or not, etc., so that the city were willing to oblige the duke, and if he had designed to purchase it himself, it seems they would have made no further suit about it."<sup>2</sup> Two years subsequently, it was agreed to reimburse Styward his expenses; and by Kirkpatrick we are made acquainted with the petition presented to the king to obtain the Black Friars for the city. It is as follows:—

"To the kyngs most royalle majesty. Most noble and most drade sovereigne lorde.—Your pouer, most humble, and obedient subjects, the mayor and other the citizyns of your pouer citie of Norwyche most lowlye do becheche your most excelent and redoubted majesty to extend your bounteous goodnes towards them in suche thynges as wherein they shalle, at this present tyme, be most humble sewters unto your highnes.

"May it please your most excellent majesty to be advertysed that lyke as the xxixth day of August last past, by virtue of your gracy's commission the house of the Austeyne freris, of your hignes' pouer citey of Norwich, was dissolved; so it is universallie thought amongst your seyde oratours, at this present tyme, that all the other houses of freres within that your gracy's citey shalle hereafter, for their ungodly lyvyng, likewyse be dissolved: & whereas the house of the blak freris there is situate and standith in the myddys & face of your gracy's seyde citie, to the fayre sight, apparaunce, & suertye of the same; & forasmuche as your pouer oratours and obedient subjectys, the citezyns there, consider-

<sup>1</sup> Hist. of Religious Orders, etc., p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 41.



ying as welle the verey utter decaye of the sale of worstedis and sayes, as also of suche other thyngis as have bene accustomed to be made within their (your gracy's) pouer citey, which hath been the great welthe, mayntenaunce, and supportacyone of the same; and not nowe, at this present tyme, for that and other consideracyones, any longer able to support and maynteyne the chargis of your gracy's said citie, onles they may be, by the bountye of your most redoubted majestie, from hensfurthe holpen in that behalf. It may therefore please the same, your most habundaunt goodnes, in consideracyon of the premissys, to graunt the same house of the blak freris, with the appertenaunces, to your gracy's seyd oratours, the inhabitauntys there; with the whiche, and suche other thynges as shal be employed thereunto, they may be the more able to mayntayne the chargis of your highnes' seyd citie; and they shal maynteyn not only the face of the seyd church of the seyd freris, and be bounden to your most royall majestie to fynd a perpetual free-scothe therein for the good erudicion and education of yought in lernyng & vertue, but also shal be most worthy bounden, as alredy they are, to pray to Almightye God for the prosperouse preservacyon of your most royall estate, to alle our comfortis long to endure, and at length to reward the same with eternalle joye."<sup>1</sup>

Another document found by Kirkpatrick, makes us acquainted with the object of the citizens in obtaining the building:—

"Consyderacions why the citie of Norwiche (that I, Austen Steward, alderman) doth aske the gifte of the blak freris, with the orchard, etc., of the kyngis hignes, Henry the VIII.

"*First.* To make of the churche a fayre and large halle, well pathed, for the mayor and his bretherne, with all the citizens of the same, to repair thereunto for their common assemblages as often as shall be expedient, as they have always used it, tyme out of mynde, for the quyet governaunce & worship of the said citie.

"*Item.* To have there a pulpitte for all straungers & others to preche the worde of God on Sondays and holydayes, bothe in the forenoone & afternoone, in such tymes as when there is no sermon at the crosse withyn the cathedral church.

"*Item.* Of the quere: to make it a chapelle for a preest for the said citizens at their assemblye dayes and other, to here masse thereyn, & other servyce dayly.

"*Item.* Of the houses withyn the place: of those that be necessarye to stond, to make of the doctour and fraytour garnettis for to leye there-one corne for the citie's store in tyme of skarcitie, and to maynteyne the malyngge-house, mil-house, and baking-house, for the profite of the citie.

"*Item.* The orcheyard to be lette out for the mayntenaunce of the

<sup>1</sup> Hist. of Religious Orders, etc., p. 42.



same walls, and the reparacions of the churche and walls of the same house."

In 1540, a charter was granted by Henry VIII, in compliance with the city's request, upon the payment of 81*l*.; the whole house and site of the said late priory or house of the late Friars Preachers, to be held of the crown by annual payment of 9*s*. sterling into the Court of Augmentations of the Revenues of the Crown. Although the possession of the lead is enumerated in this charter, it seems to have been a matter of dispute, as possession was not obtained without a further payment of 152*l*., as found entered in the chamberlain's accounts four years afterwards.

"Paid at Bury, to Mr. John Eyer, receiver to the king, for the leed of the church, chancel, steeple, and two yles of the common hall, valued at 38 fudder, after 4 pounds per fudder, one hundred and fifty two pounds."

In this hall, then, the citizens, with the mayor, aldermen, etc., were wont to assemble on public days, and the various companies of guilds or fraternities of tradesmen and artificers to hear mass in on their respective guild days. An ordinance to this effect, bearing the date of 1543, is mentioned by Kirkpatrick. Their offerings went to increase the revenue of the city. This was continued until the first of Edward VI, when the whole proceeding was put down by Act of Parliament. Among payments made by the chamberlain connected with the Reformation, are various items on account of the removal and destruction of crucifixes. Thus :—

"Pd to John Byrch, carpenter, and all hys men, takyng down the crucyfyxe, 12*d*.

"Spent in brede & drynke amongst the carpenters, masons, laborers, & strangers besyde, abought the takyng down of the said crucyfyxe, 4*d*. [The old roofe was ryvyn to help to hete the plumbers yrons for mendyng the roof: *i.e.*, the old crucifix was split into pieces and burnt. 1st Edward VI.—Comp. Camer.]"

In the chapel were exhibited the interludes or plays in the reign of Henry VIII. Thus the chamberlain, in the 38th Henry VIII,—

"Pd for mendyng the dores, fourneys, and desks, in the chapell, which war brokyn by vyolens of pepille that war ther at an interlude the Sonday after twelfth day, eightpence halfpenny.

"Gave in reward to Mr. Byrde, scolemaster of the gramer-scole, for his scolers playcing the said interlude, ten shillings."

The plays were continued after the reign of Henry VIII: as in the 2nd of Edward VI, there is an entry—

“Payd 11 Dec., to the kyngys players, an interlude in the comon hall, on the Sondag, Monday, and Tewesday, 20s.; and to my lord protector’s players, 14 Decemb., 10s. *Item*. Another interlude was played here the Sondag before Candylnas. Also, at a court of mayoralty, 30 March, 1616, license was given to queen Anne’s company of players, etc., to play four days in the chapel, near the new hall.” (Kirkpatrick, p. 59.)

In the year following, a lottery took place in the chapel. In the city accounts we read:—

“At a court, 27 Dec., 1617. Whereas letters were received from the counsell about a runnyng lotterye in this city, it is thought fitt, at the request of Mr. Barbour, who brought the said letters, that the new hall chappell shal be appoynted for that purpose. Paid also the saide thirty eighth year of Henry the eighth, for mendyng a vestment of blew badkyne, and another of grene velvet, with their albs, stoles, & tannons, two shillings; & in the second year of Edward the sixth, payd to St. Andrew’s sexton for mendyng the bawdryke of one of the bells, one penny.” (*Ibid.*)

In the old churchwardens’ book belonging to St. Andrew’s parish, it appears that the sixth and great bell of that church was bought of the prior of the Black Friars, at the dissolution, and weighed twenty-two hundredweight, and cost sixteen pounds. The following distich was upon it:—

LAUDO DEUM VERUM, PLEBEM VOCO, CONVOCO CLERUM,  
DEFUNCTOS PLORO, PESTEM FUGO, FESTA DECORO.<sup>1</sup>

The Dutch obtained a grant of the chapel in 1625, and it has continued such from that time.<sup>2</sup> Other parts of the conventual building were appropriated as granaries and places of deposit for various purposes.

Among other particulars of interest connected with this building is a petition, of the date of 1565, from which it appears that the houses of friars and other monasteries served frequently for places of refuge to shelter felons from the power of the law.<sup>3</sup> The petition is addressed to the king and council from the liege citizens of Norwich in reference to their power, and cites the case of three prisoners, who,

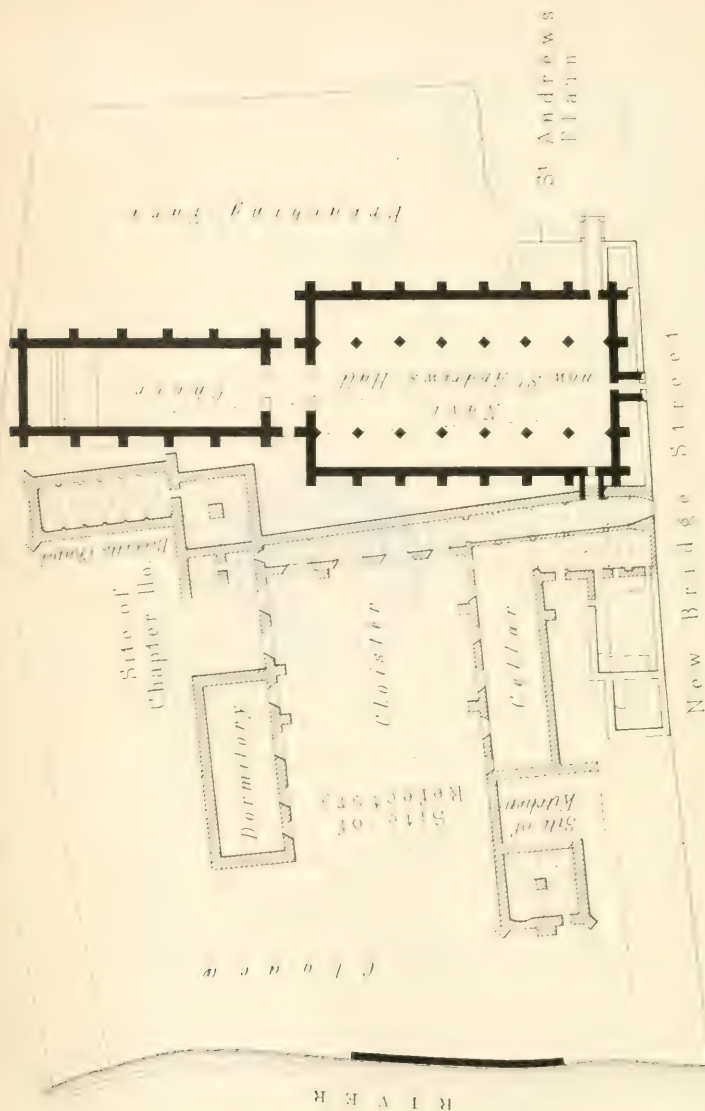
<sup>1</sup> Coll. D. Tanner, *Canc.*

<sup>2</sup> A sermon is here annually preached in Dutch, and the minister, from London, receives by a bequest for this duty the sum of £20.

<sup>3</sup> For information on this interesting subject, see the able paper by sir F. Dwaris, pp. 97-110 *ante*.



Elm Hill



PLAN OF THE CONVENT OF BLACK FRIARS NORWICH.

Made by Henry Harrod Esq<sup>r</sup> F.S.A in 1856

Dec  
Paper

SCALE OF 0

100

200

300 FEET



having been indicted of divers felonies, had been imprisoned in the castle of Norwich, had broken the said prison, escaped to the Friars Preachers, by which the sheriffs of the gaol had incurred a fine of 15*l*.

The friars do not seem to have been beloved by the residents of Norwich, inasmuch as, during the reign of Richard II, a charter was granted by the king, setting forth how they had, "by the instigation of the devil, etc., been maltreated and abused, grieved, damnified, and scandalized, and their houses attempted to be destroyed, their clothes torn from their backs," etc. The king commands that the privileges should be maintained, and that they should be amicably treated as due to religious men, and threatens punishment to all such as should do violence to them. The sheriff is commanded without delay to correct and duly reform such grievance.

To the south of the church was a large preaching ground, as early as the time of Edward III. It became a garden; then a burial-ground for those dying of the plague, in the time of Elizabeth. A portion, however, remaining as a green-yard, it was used for preaching, a pulpit being brought into it, and galleries for the corporation constructed. Subsequently it has been used as an artillery ground; so that it has been destined to various and very dissimilar purposes.

Mr. Harrod gives some interesting particulars in regard to the construction of the church,<sup>1</sup> which consisted of a nave with north and south aisles, and a clerestory having a small porch at the west end; the principal entrance being from the south-west. There was a central steeple, octagonal above the roof; and there was a choir without aisles or clerestory. Its total length was 255 feet; of which the nave (now St. Andrew's hall) formed 126 feet, the steeple 14 feet, the choir (now Dutch church) 100 feet, and the walls 15 feet. To these measurements may be added the west porch 12 feet, making altogether 267 feet. The steeple fell in 1712. In the hall are seven perpendicular arches, supporting the central roof and clerestory, whilst the wooden shafts from which the hammer-beams of the roof spring are sustained

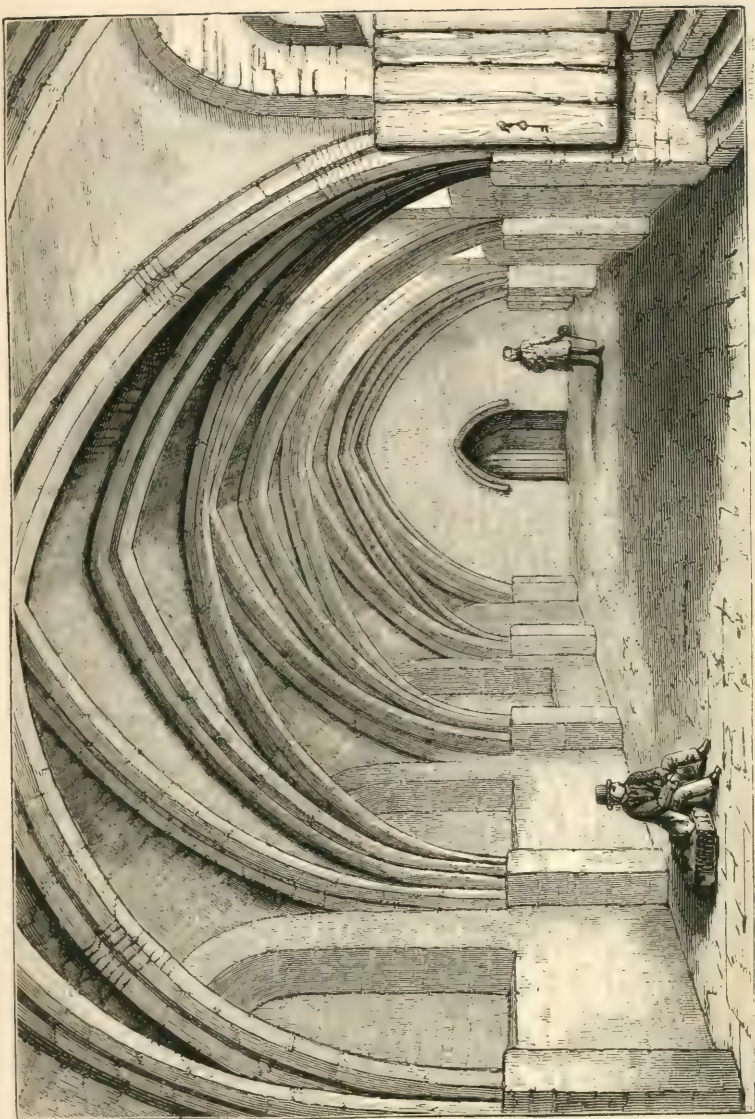
<sup>1</sup> By the kindness of Mr. Harrod I have been permitted to avail myself of his plan, taken in 1856, for the accuracy of which I can vouch, and by which the reader will be able clearly to understand the arrangement of the several parts of this interesting monastery. (See plate 5.) The Perpendicular portion is marked strongly in black, the other part is of the Decorated period.

by slender shafts running up the face of the wall, from the capital of each pillar and the top of each arch. Originally, Mr. Harrod says, there were seven large windows on each side, one at each end of the aisles, and a large central window. The clerestory windows are late Perpendicular, and the arms of Erpingham are placed on the wall exteriorly between every two of them. The windows on the south side are Decorated: but the arches are untrue, and do not correspond. The effect, however, when they were filled with painted glass, must have been very imposing. The west window is but poor in its modern tracery.

The choir (now Dutch church) has suffered many vicissitudes, some of which have already been detailed. Originally, with its fine five-light Perpendicular windows, and its seven-light eastern Decorated, with good tracery, this church must have possessed a magnificent appearance. After the dissolution it was sadly mutilated, and underwent various changes. Painted and gilt wainscot is alluded to as belonging to it, representing scriptural and legendary subjects: it was torn down, and a portion is known to have been in the parlour of a house opposite, but of its present existence nothing can be ascertained. This wainscoting was of about 1450, to which period the earliest part of the building must be attributed. A reredos was made in 1458, and the steeple erected the year following. Mr. Harrod gives an account of the goods contained in it in the fourth Edward VI, among which he enumerates "three pieces of hangings of black worsted, embroidered with dead bodies rising out of their graves."

By the north door of the hall we gain access to an interesting portion of this building; we are thereby led to a labyrinth of vaults extending to the south walk of the cloister. The dark entry, a few steps from the door, is supposed to have been the original entrance to the convent. Parallel with the vaults is another series, leading to the west walk of the cloisters, where Mr. Harrod places the cellar of the convent. The buttery hatch may be seen in the vault next the dark entry. The kitchen, formerly the site of the strangers' hall, has three enormous fireplaces of the time of Henry VIII, *anno* 34. Three sides of the cloister remain; the north is gone. The chapter and dormitory were on the east side: little now remains—none of the former. Modern houses occupy its site.





PRESUMED CHAPEL OF THOMAS À BECKET, AT THE CONVENT OF BLACK PRIMS, NORWICH.



The precise site of St. Thomas-à-Becket's chapel may perhaps still be open to doubt ; but Mr. Harrod has done much towards determining that point. He conceives the great vault, 55 feet long by 20 feet wide, lighted by small windows some distance from the floor, now stopped up and Perpendicular windows inserted, and these replaced by apertures higher and of a more modern date, to have been the chapel,<sup>1</sup> above which was a library built about 1450. Mr. Harrod says : " I believe it will be eventually conceded that this 'great vault' was the crypt of the original chapel of the Black Friars, erected on the site of the church of the Sack Friars."<sup>2</sup>

## ON CAISTOR CAMP.

BY ROBT. FITCH, ESQ., F.G.S.

THE camp at Caistor is situated in the village of Caistor St. Edmund, three miles from Norwich. It is on the left bank of the small river Taas, or Taes, the waters of which, whatever may once have been their extent, are now confined to the breadth of a very narrow stream—so confined, indeed, as to be little more than a water course. Of the ancient importance of the river Taes, antiquaries are divided. Geologists assume that the waters covered the surface of the low meadows which stretch between the gently rising ground, on which the camp is situated, and the opposite ridge, which extends along the right side of this stream, and, flowing onwards towards the city, spread into an estuary of considerable size. This might have been the case at a remote period ; indeed, the nature of the geological deposits affirms the fact : but it is perhaps doubtful whether this was the condition of the stream at the time of the Roman occupation, and for this reason, that Roman, or Romano-British sepulchral remains have been exhumed upon adjacent sites, which must have formed the bed of the estuary to which allusion is made, if

<sup>1</sup> See plate 6. By Mr. Harrod's permission I am able to give this representation of what he conjectures to have been the chapel of Becket.

<sup>2</sup> Gleanings, etc., p. 96.

its waters were wide-spreading as affirmed. This question is, however, one of considerable difficulty ; and is only to be settled by reference to a multitude of facts, which can have no place in this brief paper. The form of the camp at Caistor is a parallelogram, whose sides nearly answer to the four points of the compass. The corners are rounded ; and the side upon the west, which faces the stream of the Taes, extends beyond the line of the parallel, and is of a depressed angular form. On the north side of the apex of this angle stands one of two towers of Roman masonry, of which some further notice will be taken.

The camp contains thirty-four superficial acres. Along its eastern side runs the road from Norwich to Shottisham. In the south-east corner, within the camp, stands the parish church. The whole contour is plainly distinguishable from the walls ; a considerable portion of which is now covered with huge banks of earth, not to aid in their preservation, but for the convenience of cultivation. The camp forms a portion of the estate of Mrs. Dashwood, and is in the occupation of Mr. Spurrell.

Roman masonry is seen at several points. On the north side a considerable portion of the wall is denuded of its earthy covering, and a close examination of its structure may be made. The substance of the walls is faced with flint, in many places squared and prepared with a flat face. At the termination of four courses of flints appears the old bonding tile of the Romans. There are slight dislocations of this arrangement ; but the material and its use is, as a whole, as here described. The wall is also exposed at points on the west, or river side ; though here, as we approach the south, both wall and bank are in a very abraded condition. Here stands the tower, of which mention has already been made. Its situation is rather in advance of the line of wall ; but that it has been attached to the exterior wall is clear, because the part next the camp is flattened for the purpose of connexion. The present height of this singular fragment is thirteen feet, though its altitude was greater when perfect. The circumference above the ground is twenty-two feet eight inches. At present the tower is surmounted by an immense crown of ivy, which doubtless tends much to the preservation of the structure. Flint and bonding tile compose the exterior ; and its interior is a core of solid rubble.

By an examination of the tower in the month of July last, the base, now hidden beneath the surface of the earth, was found to be of faced flints, and projects eighteen inches from the body. It must be mentioned, that the present surface of the tower itself is much abraded by time. The difference between the present exterior and the projection of the base, indicates the exact circumference of the structure to have been nine feet more than its present admeasurement. The distance between the courses of brick in the tower is twenty-six inches, and the thickness of each course seven inches.

It has been stated that another tower stood laterally within a short distance of this example, during the memory of the present generation, but has been removed or destroyed many years. It is conjectured that both formed the massy piers of a gate which opened upon the water: indeed, it is assumed by the late Mr. Arderon,<sup>1</sup> that he had seen an ancient iron staple ring, for the detention of a boat, embedded in the front of the tower which now remains. The staple and ring, however, have been long removed; and whether applicable as stated must now for ever remain a question of doubt. Nevertheless, looking at the proximity of the tower to the water, it is not unlikely that the stream might have washed the camp at this point, or that a creek brought the waters into contact with this gate. It is singular, however, as respects this second tower, that Arderon, when giving a plan and section of the camp, figures only a single tower, the one at present in position; but it is proper to remark that, on the north side of the existing tower, is a half-circular mound, which might have formed the foundation of the other tower. Referring again to the walls on the south side, the lower part crops out in several places; and at the south-east corner, where the bank of earth has been removed for about ten yards, for the purpose of affording an entrance into the area of the camp during the season of cultivation, a ponderous fragment of the wall is exposed on the bank, not only attesting its general massive character, but also supporting the presumption that the whole or greater portion lies unbroken beneath the banks.

Near to where this fragment now appears, but rather more to the eastward, and outside the camp, existed a well for the supply of the garrison. It was fed from a visible spring

<sup>1</sup> Philos. Trans., 1749, vol. x, p. 1295.

filled up with fragments of the wall. In the time of Arderon, judging by the plan he has left, the base of another tower was to be seen near the north-east corner, and fragments of the wall were exposed on the east side. The foundations of this tower, and also pieces of wall on the east, are still to be seen. Four entrances to the camp are to be traced, one on each side. Arderon calls that on the west, by the tower, *Porta Decumana*; that on the east, *Porta Prætoria*. The openings on the north and south are unnamed; and, indeed, he states that their use as gates is uncertain. The entire camp has been surrounded by a fosse. From the summit of the extreme bank outside, the dip to the bottom of the ditch, on the east (where the declivity is deepest), measures eight yards; the height of the bank which covers the wall on this side, is twenty yards, measured in a gently sloping direction; the dip within, to the area of the camp, is also eight yards: so that the surface of the camp itself is above the surrounding meadows. These admeasurements were taken in the month of July last.

Having stated generally the situation of Caistor, and afforded, I trust, a sufficient description for general purposes, it will now be proper to allude to especial discoveries connected with the place and its uses. In the year 1815, as some labourers were engaged with the plough on land about a quarter of a mile to the north-west of the camp, they struck upon the remains of a kiln for burning pottery. The discovery becoming known to a gentleman named Layton, he had the site laid bare for the space of one hundred and twenty yards, when not only the kiln, but many fragments, and also many entire urns, were found. The kiln itself would appear to have been in full work when abandoned, as perfect vessels used for domestic purposes were discovered embedded in sand, and placed, for the operation of burning, between the holes constructed for receiving fuel. An account of this discovery will be found in a letter written by Mr. Charles Layton to Thomas Amyot, esq., F.S.A., who communicated the account to the Society of Antiquaries.<sup>1</sup> Engravings of two sections of the kiln were also given, shewing the outlines of some of the vessels; from which we may conclude that the site had been used for the fabrication of pottery for the camp.

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. xxii, pp. 412-414.



On the 10th September, 1846, sir John P. Boileau, bart., obtained permission to make excavations in the garden belonging to Mrs. Dashwood's residence at Caistor, about two hundred yards from the camp. After pursuing the work for some days, the workmen came upon the foundation of a building about thirty feet square. The whole surface around abounded with broken pottery, human bones, and the bones of animals. A piece of Samian ware, with the mark . . . F. PRIMI, was found.<sup>1</sup>

A considerable number of Anglo-Saxon urns, at various times, have been found at Merkshall, which is in the vicinity of the camp. This proves the locality, like other places of the same Roman origin, to have been afterwards colonized, or rather used, by the Anglo-Saxon population. Drawings of some of these urns were exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries, in November 1815, by the rev. W. Gibson, M.A., F.S.A.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Gibson gives as his opinion that the urns were of Roman manufacture; and on this supposition opposes the notion expressed by Blomefield, that Caistor could not be the *Venta Icenorum*, because no place of general interment had been found. Mr. Gibson proceeds to say that, as the discovery of the urns he describes, proves the existence of a Roman cemetery, the objection against the camp being the *Venta Icenorum* is removed. The urns, however, are not Roman, but Anglo-Saxon; and therefore the discovery does not advance the question.

Another remarkable discovery in the neighbourhood of the camp (though not in the parish of Caistor) is a gold thumb-ring, on the facet of which appear the words *CONSTANTINUS FIDES*.<sup>3</sup> A small statera, or steelyard, several of the Merkshall urns, and a few other antiquities, are deposited in the Norfolk and Norwich museum.

Caistor, it is scarcely necessary to remark, has furnished a subject of much disquisition among antiquaries, some contending that it was the *Venta Icenorum*, and others assuming Norwich to be entitled to that distinction. The writers who have professedly written on antiquities, and have debated on this question, are as follow:

In support of Caistor as the *VENTA ICENORUM*: 1, *Camden*, "Nourice of Antiquitie". It must be stated, however,

<sup>1</sup> See *Archæological Journal*, iv, 72.

<sup>2</sup> *Archæologia*, xviii, 436.

<sup>3</sup> The ring is delineated in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxi, p. 547.

that he is far from trustworthy as relates to his information on this place. 2, *Horsley*, one of the most methodical writers when he could grasp his subject, and the most loose when dealing with uncertain information. He gives the Venta to Caistor. Basing his views on the words of Camden, he consequently falls into Camden's errors. 3, *Wilkins* supports the Venta arguments.<sup>1</sup> Many antiquaries of lesser note than those mentioned have adopted the same views.

For Norwich: 1, colonel Leake, in September 1834, went over the camp with Hudson Gurney, esq., and afterwards corresponded with that gentleman on the subject. His opinion was given decidedly in favour of Norwich: he regarded Caistor only as a *castrum stativa*. 2, sir Francis Palgrave is decidedly in favour of Norwich; and his arguments are published at some length in support of his opinion. 3, sir Henry Spelman is doubtful.<sup>2</sup> The arguments *pro* and *con*. upon this difficult question have, however, been given at length, and cannot fail to be read with much of interest, in "Notices of the Roman Camp at Caistor; of Ancient Norwich, its Castle, and the Venta Icenorum", communicated by Hudson Gurney, esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., in a letter addressed to Dawson Turner, esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., and afterwards reprinted in the Norwich volume of the *Proceedings* of the Archæological Institute in 1847, and most kindly reissued by Mr. Gurney for the use of those attending this Congress and feeling an interest in the question.

It will be seen from the lists that the articles found connected with the domestic life in the camp, bear no comparison numerically with the coins turned up by the labours of the husbandman. This circumstance is perhaps easily explained. Except relics formed of the precious metals, or bronzes exhibiting forms of life, articles prized by the antiquary do not offer sufficient attraction even to the notice of those professional tillers of the soil, into whose hands articles of this character generally first find their way. They are, therefore, very generally destroyed; or, when turned up by the coulter or the spade, knocked to pieces or thrown aside—left to perish by the action of the weather. How extensive has been the destruction of pottery alone, exhumed at Caistor, may be

<sup>1</sup> Essay towards the History of the Venta Icenorum, and of Norwich Castle, in the *Archæologia*, vol. xii, pp. 132-180.

<sup>2</sup> See his *Icenia*.

inferred from the numerous fragments that are still found upon the banks. Probably many of these were fragmentary when originally discovered; but it may surely be admitted that some of these articles, which are now unheeded, and are indeed worthless for all purposes of the antiquary, when found, if not as perfect as when they left the hands of the potter, were yet far less minute than in their present condition. If such articles could have been recognized by the finders as of value, they would surely have been spared; but, being less attractive than some other things, they are thrown by and neglected. Indeed, the truth of this explanation has been admitted by at least one intelligent peasant, whose good fortune it has been to discover and save many articles which, but for him, must have perished.

## REMARKS ON SOME REPRESENTATIONS OF MINSTRELS IN EARLY PAINTED GLASS,

FORMERLY IN ST. JAMES' CHURCH, NORWICH.

BY THE REV. BEALE POSTE, M.A.

THESE few lines, and the sketches herewith subjoined, may be considered as a memento of the ancient stained glass in St. James' church, Norwich, and will require but little to be said in the way of comment.

St. James' church<sup>1</sup> is situated in the midst of a somewhat considerable manufacturing population, in the city of Norwich; and alterations being required a few years ago, various ancient windows were taken out, and replaced by modern ones. There was a certain proportion of painted glass, it seems, in these windows, which became dispersed by sale or otherwise, the reason obviously being that they would not combine with the new work. Some part at least found its way to the great metropolis; and the pieces now described were purchased by the writer, of Mr. Rogers, the eminent

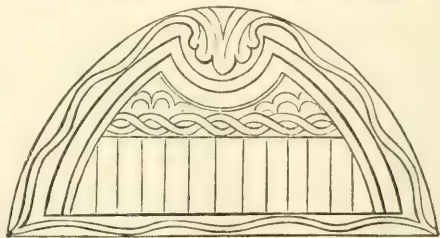
<sup>1</sup> See *ante*. p. 76.

dealer in carving and painted glass, of Great Newport-street, London.

I leave to others to ascertain what may have been the general subjects of the painted glass in the windows of St. James' church, and shall proceed to describe the three pieces of which the drawings are sent, premising that I assign the date of them, without any hesitation, to about the year 1150.

Fig. 1, plate 7, is a male figure looking to the right, and playing on the bagpipe; the instrument appearing to be, in all respects, the same as those in use in the present day. This figure, as all the rest, is clothed in a species of long gown, confined at the waist by a belt or cord, which is not seen, and hanging loose about the arms, body, and shoulders, like the modern garment called the *blouse*; while below the girdle it has an opening in front, and falls down to the feet, which are without shoes or sandals. The garment is of a whitish colour slightly tintured with pink. It seems by this that the bagpipe was in common use in the middle ages. It has also been claimed for Roman times on the strength of the bronze statuette of a bagpipe player having been found about half a century since within the ancient Roman castrum at Richborough. The late rev. Stephen Weston described the circumstance of the discovery in vol. xvii of the *Archæologia*, and it is therein engraved. Some have doubted the assignation since; and there has been hitherto no evidence to determine the question decisively.

Fig. 2 consists of the lower part of a figure playing on the stringed instrument called a psaltery; and in attitude and attire is similar to the preceding one. Some remarks on the musical instrument known as the psaltery, which, it seems, superseded a ruder instrument of the same kind (here represented), called a "nabulum",—a triangular sonorous box, described in our *Journal*.<sup>1</sup> The one was a derivation from the other, useful to assist the voice in singing; and the "light guitar" which the poet invokes as an accompaniment to the voice,—“O strike the light guitar!” as he says,—seems to have been a derivation from both.



<sup>1</sup> Vol. i, p. 297.



Fig. 1.

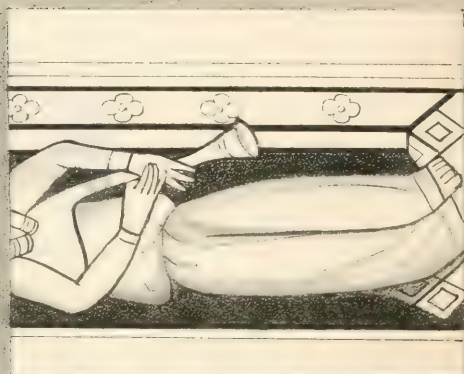


Fig. 3.





Fig. 3 is the head and neck of the figure of a minstrel playing on a wind instrument, of which a portion only is seen, and it appears to be a clarionet. Figs. 2 and 3 were joined in one by some former possessor, and in this state were purchased. By a little contrivance they were made to form one tolerably complete single figure; and so, indeed, continue to be. But the clarionet and psaltery would not so well combine; and the anomalous instrument thus formed is, of course, a species of nondescript.

## HISTORY OF PURSES.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., HON. SEC.

THE history of money is, of course, to a great extent, the history of material civilization, as it is the representative of nearly every effort of physical and material progress; but it is scarcely necessary, in a paper devoted to a consideration of the various receptacles that have been used for the conveyance and safe custody of this universal agent of barter and trade, to enter at any length into an account of its origin and development. The transition from the annular currency of gold, silver, and brass, to that of authorized coin, was an easy, slight, and obvious one. The metal ring needed but to be flattened on the anvil, or placed within the inscribing die, and a coin like that still current in China was manifest. In the celestial empire these perforated discs are carried about on strings, as were doubtless the brazen ring-money of the Celtæ, and as the wampum of the Red Men of America are still carried. When annular money was abandoned, and its place supplied with imperforated discs, the cord was no longer applicable, and receptacles in form of boxes, pots, and pouches, were required, and soon constituted an essential portion of the equipment of all whose wealth consisted, in part at least, of coin.

We will now endeavour to trace the *porte-monnaie* through its mutations of name, form, and material, as it has appeared in divers ages and countries, beginning with the classic lands of Italy and Greece. On one of the pillars of the Etruscan

tomb at Cervetri,<sup>1</sup> is painted a pouch of a red colour, suspended from a nail by a loop, and having its mouth closed by a round-ended bar running through its looped edge. This painting, in all probability, represents a purse identical with the Hellenic *balantion* and Roman *crumena*, which was formed of leather, and slung over the neck by a strap or cord, so as to hang in front or at back of the wearer; whence Plautus makes Ballio, in *Pseudolus* (i, 2, 38), tell the slave to walk in front, that he might watch the *crumena* which was slung behind him. This kind of purse, from being carried with a strap, was sometimes called *funda*, from its fancied resemblance to the sling.

The *bulga*, *folles*, *pasceolus*, *saccus*, and its diminutive *sacculus*, are money pouches mentioned in the pages of classic authors; but of their exact characteristics little is now known. Of the *marsupium*, or true purse, we have a more intimate knowledge. It was a small bag, generally of leather, closed by being drawn together at the mouth by a cord. Mercury, as god of gain, is often represented with the *marsupium*, which is at times decorated with tufts and tassels.

Passing to Britain, we find that the Celtæ had a portemonnaie, which they termed *alwar* and *amner*; but of its size and fashion we know nothing, without its form be handed down in the *sporrán* of the Highlanders, regarding the history of which so much uncertainty exists. The Anglo-Saxons carried their money in the *pung*, *púse*, or *purse*; but it is not until the Norman era that we find it assuming much importance as a portion of costume. It then becomes familiar to us under the title of *aulmoniere* or *almoner*, at times varied in orthography into *alner*, as for instance in the *Lay of Syr Launfal*, where it is said—

“I wyll the yeve an *alner*,  
I-mad of sylk and of gold cler,  
Wyth fayre ymages thre.” (319.)

And

“He lokede yn hys *alner*,  
That fond hym spendyng all plener  
Whan that he hadde nede,  
And ther nas noon, for soth to say.” (733)

In the *Romaunt of the Rose* we find the word indifferently written *aumener* and *aumere*:

<sup>1</sup> Journal for March 1856, vol. xii, plate 4, fig. 2.



“Than of his *aumener* he drough,  
 A little keie fetise i-nough,  
 Whiche was of gold polished clere.” (2087.)

And

“Were streighte glovis with *aumere*  
 Of silke, and alway with gode chere  
 Thou yeve, if that thou have richesse.” (2271.)

In pictorial and glyptic representations of noble dames, the aulmoniere is seen depending from the waist girdle by long strings. Sometimes it is quite plain, at others it is more or less richly decorated. The aulmoniere which appears at the side of the effigy of Berengaria, queen of Richard I, in the abbey of L'Espan, near Mans, is rather pyriformed, with three tufts round the bottom, and tasseled strings to draw the mouth together. An aulmoniere of a very different outline occurs at the side of an effigy of a lady on the north side of the front of Wells cathedral.<sup>1</sup> It is of an upright, oblong form, widening from the mouth to the bottom, and having neither tufts nor side strings. This fashion of purse continued to be worn till the time of Richard II, the front being frequently stamped or embroidered with flowers and other devices, and the edges decorated with beads and metal buttons. Chaucer describes the leathern purse at the girdle of the carpenter's wife as “tasseled with silk and pearled with latoun,” *i.e.*, impearled or studded with brazen knobs.

In the reign of Edward III pocket holes began to make their appearance in the front of the cote-hardie of the ladies; and as the fashion spread, the use of the aulmoniere became less frequent, until the days of Richard II, when it vanished altogether from the side of the fair sex, and seemed to be under an eclipse for about a century. But singularly enough, just as this important receptacle was in its wane with the ladies, the pouch appeared more frequently at the side of the gentlemen. But the title of aulmoniere was soon dropped for that of *gypcyere*, *gipeiere*, or *gypcere*, a word adopted from the French *gibbeciere*, the large flat pouch worn at the side by sportsmen. The long strings of the ladies' aulmoniere seem to have been generally looped round the waist girdle; but the *gipeiere* was supported by the belt passing through the upper part, or straps attached to it; or else a

<sup>1</sup> Engraved in our *Journal* for March 1857, vol. xiii, plate 3, fig. 4.

metal beam was secured to the belt, and from which the purse depended. In our *Journal* (viii, p. 304, plate 35) is engraved a figure of the time of Henry I, from the portal of Lincoln cathedral, in which the pouch is slung under the left arm by a strap passing over the right shoulder.

The gipciere soon became a part of the costume of every class of society from the prince to the peasant; the pouches of the higher ranks being of velvet and silk, embroidered in gold and silver; those of the lower orders were of leather and canvas. Chaucer's Franklin had

“A gipciere all of silk

Heng at his girdel, white as morwe milk.”

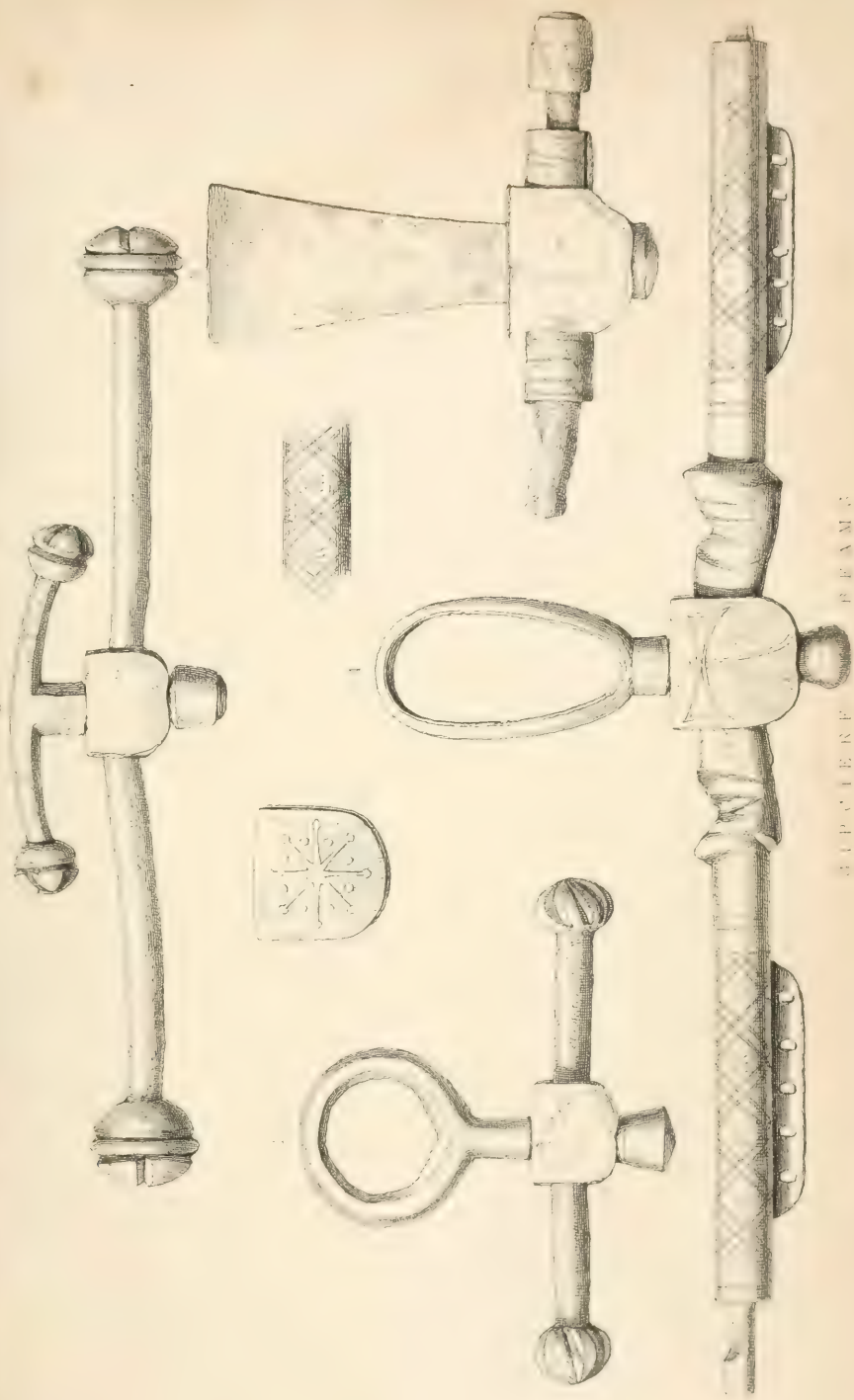
The few examples of the gipciere of the fourteenth century that have reached our time, are of cuir-bouilli, some having rich and elegant designs stamped on their fronts, and decorated with studs of latten and white metal.

A gipciere of the most simple form is seen at the side of a figure on an encaustic tile of the time of Edward III.<sup>1</sup> The belt appears to run through the upper part, and on its front is a knob or button. In the last half of the fourteenth century, it would seem that straps were added to the upper edge of the pouch, and through which the belt passed. Instances of this mode of suspension occur on the figures carved on the stalls of Gloucester cathedral, and Ludlow church, Shropshire.<sup>2</sup> In the latter the gipcieres are of an unusual fashion; and the figure on the right of the barrel has his so much in front that it brings to mind the sporran of the Highlanders and shot-pouch of the Americans.

Allusion has already been made to the metal beams of the gipciere, and I will now proceed to a more detailed description of them. I exhibit one of bronze (see plate 8, fig. 1), which consists of a horizontal bar two inches and three-quarters long, with globose ends to prevent the straps of the purse slipping off, and having a swivel ring in the centre, by which it was attached to the belt. Mr. T. Wills also lays before us a larger gipciere beam (fig. 2), which presents some differences in character. The bronze bar is upwards of five inches in length; and instead of the central ring, it has a short horizontal bar above, but parallel with, the longer one,

<sup>1</sup> Engraved in the *Journal*, vol. ii, p. 261.

<sup>2</sup> See *Journal*, vol. iv, pp. 209, 210.





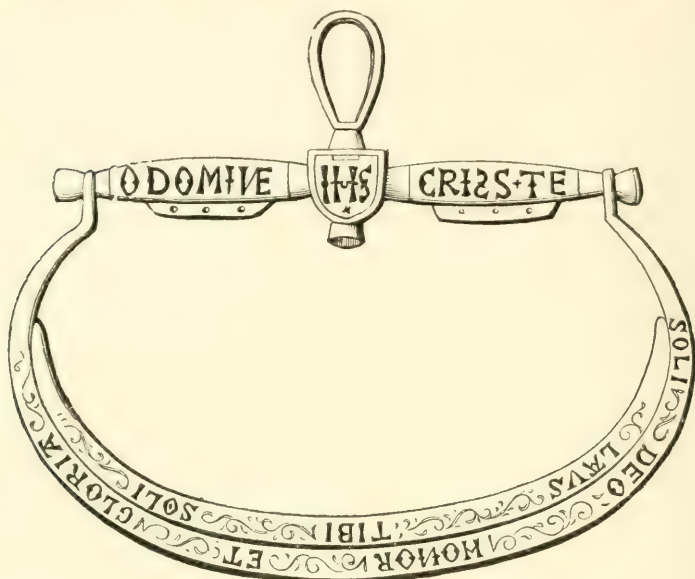


both terminating in globose knobs. This is a rather rare type; but a similar example, exhumed in Dorset, is in the collection of our associate, Mr. H. Durden, of Blandford. I exhibit a third specimen (fig. 3), which differs considerably from either of the former. It is of iron plated with brass, the suspending loop being of an ovate form, capable of admitting a belt seven-eighths of an inch wide. The horizontal bar is two inches and three-quarters long, the vacuities for the purse straps being but the quarter of an inch wide. It was found, in March 1847, in Fleet ditch, and is the only specimen of the kind I have ever met with.

In the fifteenth century a new form of gipciere and beam came into vogue. Hitherto the pouch was, with few exceptions, more or less square in its outline, projecting but little from the person; but it now appeared as a bag with bulging front, and generally enriched with three tassels at the lower part. The early gipcieres had the mouth covered with a flap which fell over the front; but in the fifteenth century the back edge of the purse was stitched to a portion of the beam; and to the horizontal bar was added a semicircular frame, to which the cover of the gipciere was attached, and which was hinged so as to open and shut like the lid of a box. A gipciere of this period is represented at the side of a figure in the painted glass in Morley church, Derbyshire;<sup>1</sup> and Mr. Gunston lays before us the remains of one of the improved frames (fig. 4). It is of bronze inlaid with silver, and when perfect must have been an elegant object. The sides of the oval loop, and the cylindrical portions of the beam issuing from dolphins' mouths, are inlaid with a trellis pattern; and on one side of the central shield in which the loop turns, is the cross tau of the order of St. Anthony; and on the other an escarbuncle, the well known charge in the shield of the ancient earls of Anjou. From the under side of the beam project two narrow pieces, each perforated with five holes, and to which the back of the pouch was sewed. A perfect gipciere frame of this form is here given from an original brass discovered in the creek at Lower Halstow, Kent. The shield bears on one face the sacred monogram, IHS.; on the other, the cross tau. One side of the beam is inscribed, O DOMINE CRISSTE; on the other, ST. MARIA SILLARLA (?). The semicircular portions bear the legends, SOLI

<sup>1</sup> Engraved in the *Journal*, vol. viii, p. 28, plate 12.

DEO, HONOR ET GLORIA. LAVS TIBI SOLI. The gipeiere frames of this period were frequently graven with moral and pious



sentences. For example may be cited two described in our *Journal* (ii, 189, and vi, 440), one bearing the words, LAVS DEO PAS VIVIS REQVIES DEFVNTIS; the other, AVE MARIA GRACIA PLENA DO. A beam inscribed with the same formula as the last was exhumed at Selborne in Hampshire, and is now in the Doucean collection at Goodrich court. Whitaker, in his *History of Craven* (p. 169), gives a plate of a beam with a like legend; and in 1832 there was found, in Lincolnshire, one with a nearly similar inscription, viz., on one side the words AVE MA' GRA' PLENA; on the other, DOMINVS TE-CVM.

Leather, silk, and velvet, still continued to be employed in the manufacture of the gipeiere, which was more richly decorated in the fifteenth than in the fourteenth century. Among other costly items pawned by Henry V, when raising funds for the French expedition in 1415, was a gipeiere of purple velvet garnished with gold.<sup>1</sup> And in the Louvre is preserved an exceedingly elegant gipeiere of the close of the fifteenth century, which is of velvet overlaid with a coat of

<sup>1</sup> Referred to in Rymer's *Fodera*.

arms in coloured silks, bound with gold gimp, and ornamented with two lines of gold thread tassels. The wrought steel clasp is of rich architectural design, and provided with a hook by which to attach it to the girdle; and "a purse of crimson satin, embroidered in gold", is mentioned in king Henry VIII's inventory of the contents of the palace at Greenwich.<sup>1</sup>

In the *Complaynt of them that ben to late Marged*, it is said—

"Unto another she dyde as moche,  
For thy love none but for theyr poche."

And from the close of the fifteenth century we hear little or nothing of the gipciere, poche, pouch, and purse, becoming the recognized titles of the porte-monnaie. Thus, in *Hycke-Scorner* (temp. Henry VIII), we are told—

"From my girdle he plucked my pouch.  
By your leave, he left me never a penny;  
So nought have I but a buckle."

In the collection known as *Shakspeare's Jest Book* (also of the time of Henry VIII) is a tale in which mention is made of "a certayne prieste that hadde his purse hangynge at his gyrdell, strutting out full of money." In the *Merry Wives of Windsor* (i, 3) Pistol declares—"Tester I'll have in pouch when thou shalt lack"; and Falstaff, speaking of Mrs. Page, says—"She bears the purse, too: she is a region in Guinea, all gold and beauty."

The sixteenth century witnessed not only the abandonment of the word gipciere, but also the reappearance of the purse as a part of the equipment of the fair sex,—and that, too, in a form which brings the Anglo-Norman aulmoniere forcibly to mind. The gentlemen still continued to wear the pouch fastened close beneath the girdle, as may be seen in the rubbings of monumental brasses of Geoffrey Dormer (1502) and Christopher Bridgeman (1503), both in Thame church, Oxon; and Folke Voffe (1514), in Chinnor church, Oxon, exhibited by Mr. Gunston. But the ladies revived the long cords, and let the little pouches depend from their girdles in graceful freedom.<sup>2</sup>

Our associate Mr. C. E. Hammond, of Newmarket, has kindly sent for exhibition a highly curious little pouch, of

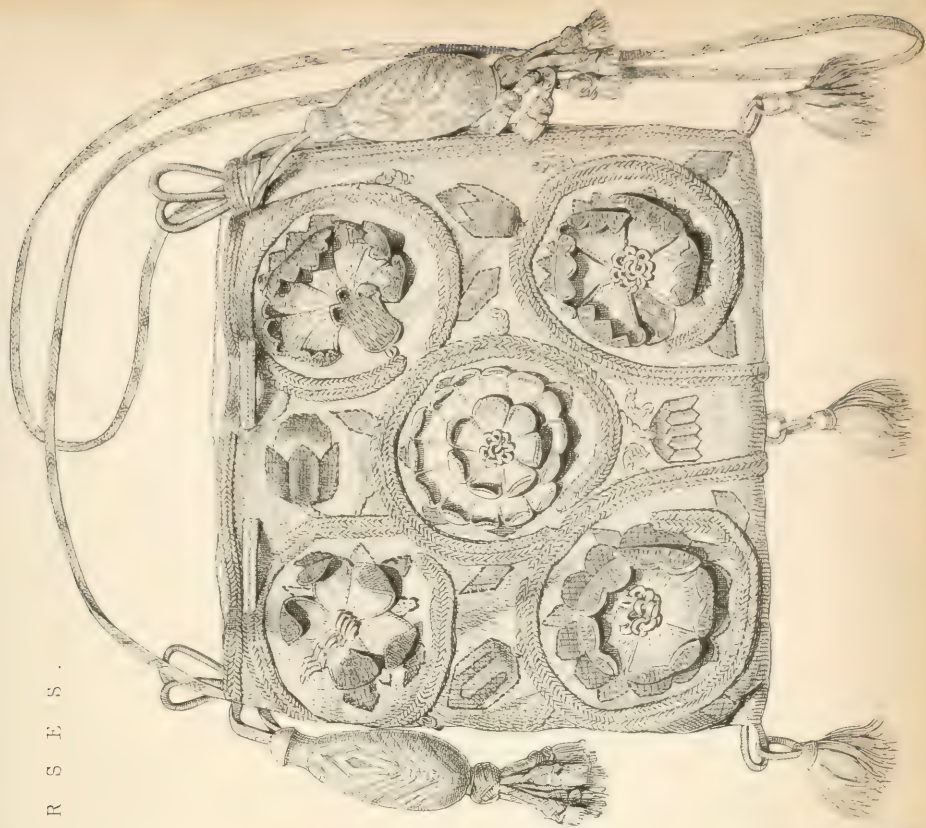
<sup>1</sup> Harleian MSS., 1412.

<sup>2</sup> A long stringed purse of this period is held in the hand of a figure on the carved knife-haft engraved in the *Journal*, vii, 428.

the commencement of the sixteenth century, which was discovered in July last, in taking down the south wall of the chancel of St. Mary's church, Newmarket. It was found in the middle of the wall, and placed about a foot above an Early English piscina, which was brought to light directly after the purse was met with. This rare object (see plate 9, fig. 1) is composed of two pieces of white leather sewed together up the sides, so as to produce a hemiovate sack about three inches deep. The edge is waved, each wave being perforated with two round holes, through which passes a narrow thong to draw the mouth together. To the closing thong is attached a lateral cord with tassel of twine; and secured to the upper edge of the pouch is a loop of twisted leather about seven inches long, which was passed round the girdle when worn at the side. This purse, when found, contained two *Rechening pfenings*, or Nuremberg jettons. They are both of common type, bearing on one side the *Reichs apple* within a trefoil, and on the other a rose surrounded by crowns and fleurs-de-lis alternating. They are the work of Hans Schultz; but the name is varied on the two pieces, one reading Hans Schult, the other Han. Schuultes. Schultz was one of the first makers of counters who placed his name on them. He seems to have flourished through the first half of the sixteenth century; without, indeed, there were two of the same name working at different periods, an hypothesis supported by the pieces themselves, some of which appear much earlier than others. If there were an elder and a younger Hans Schultz, these Newmarket jettons must be referred to the first; for neither they nor the pouch can be placed at a date much subsequent to the year 1500. It may be worthy of notice, that a purse very similar to the above, is generally introduced into sacred heraldry as the receptacle of the "thirty pieces of silver"; and its form is also seen in the shield of the family of Conrad, count of Wittenberg, who assisted the emperor Henry IV against Rodolph of Suabia. And further, that little leathern pouches, much like the one under consideration, were employed for the distribution of the Maundy-money, as late as the reign of Charles II. I exhibit a Maundy purse of this period, made of white kid, the upper part perforated with eight round holes, through which passes a double thong, with a tongue of leather on each side to draw the mouth close.

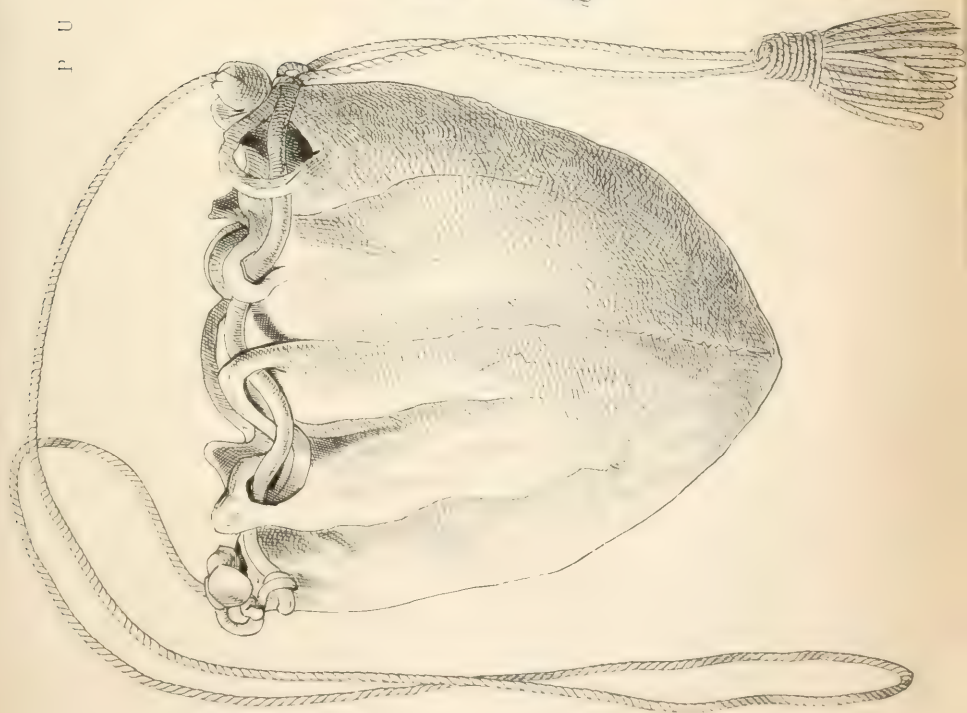


FIG. 2.



PURSES.

FIG. 1.





From our associate, Mr. C. Lynch, we receive a truly splendid purse, which, though not so early as the specimen from Newmarket, is still undoubtedly a relic of the sixteenth century. (See pl. 9, fig. 2.) It is of cloth of silver, the centre and four corners being decorated with roses and other flowers in embossed embroidery, with foot-stalks of gold plat. Both sides are alike; and at the angles and middle of the bottom are little tassels of pink silk, and it is lined throughout with pink lutestring. Through perforations in the upper edge passes a cord to draw the mouth of the purse together, and which cord has ovate terminations, covered with cloth of silver embroidered in coloured silks, with tassels of plaited silk and silver thread at their ends. The suspending loop is about eleven inches in length, and consists of a narrow tape of plaited pink silk and silver thread. When open, this purse is about three and three-quarter inches in depth, and rather above four inches in width.

Square, globose, and pyriformed purses, more or less richly decorated with embroidery and tassels, and depending from long strings, continued to be worn by the ladies down to the time of James I, after whose reign we lose sight of them.

Though the ladies relinquished the girdle purse, they retained its old square form, of which we have a beautiful exemplification in a purse of the time of Charles I, exhibited by our associate, Mr. Pretty. It is of bead-work, the field being of black, the objects of white and coloured beads. On each side are a pair of doves, with a branch of acorns between them. Above is a band bearing a date and posy, LOVE ME AND LOVE THE. 1632. The mouth is edged with gold lace, and draws together with gold cords with silken tassels. At the base are three pendants of bead-work, and it is lined with leather. In general appearance this purse is much like those of the previous century, but lacking the suspending strings.

But to return to the purses or pouches of the gentlemen of the days of the Tudors and Stuarts. The pouch seems to have increased in size and splendour, and grew more varying in form as it neared the period of its abandonment as an external appendage to the person. In proof of this we might refer to numerous portraits of the nobles of the sixteenth century, but will pass on to a specimen of the time of Elizabeth, or commencement of the reign of James I, exhibited



by Mr. Wills. This pouch is of rich crimson velvet lined with white satin, and edged with gold lace, to which spangles are attached. It is about eight inches and a quarter in depth, arched at top like the gipciere in the Louvre, and pointed at bottom: from the angles depend oval tassels covered with spangles and gold thread, and from the centre hangs an acorn with two balls beneath it, all formed in like way with the side pendants.

Through the kindness of Mrs. Fitch of Norwich we are enabled to inspect, in all probability, one of the most splendid, perfect, and interesting examples of the gentleman's pouch now existing. (See plate 10.) It is made of rich green satin, lined throughout with the same material, and consists of four receptacles placed one behind the other, two of them being in front. The entrance of the upper one is through a round aperture, having gold twist tassels to open it with, and long silken cords, with like tassels, to draw it close. Beneath this is the second one, with the mouth closed by three buttons, and gold twist loops. The mouth of the middle receptacle is at the side, and secured with three globose buttons of gilt brass and loops of golden twist. The mouth of the fourth, or hindmost, receptacle is at top, and fastens with a catch of wrought brass gilt. The pouch is bound with gold gimp: down its front are seven bands of gimp terminating in rich tassels of gold twist; three similar tassels depend from the lower edge, and on the back are the following sentences of Scripture, embroidered in gold, and reading from top to bottom:

THE . MERCIFUL . SHALL . OBTAIN . MERCY . MAT . 5 . 7.  
 EY . LAY . VP . TREASURES . IN . HEAVEN . MAT . 6 . 20.  
 HE . WHICH . SOWETH . SPARINGLY . SHALL . 2 . COR . 9 . 6.  
 YE . HAVE . LILY . HANDS . AND . ANGELS . FACES . BVT . READ . O .  
 YE . FLOWERS . OF . ENGLAND . 2 . VERCES . 1 . COR . 13 . 1 . 13.

The circular mouth of the pouch is stretched over a metal hoop, on the top of which is a short beam with a swivel loop, made with a spring catch, so that it can be conveniently hooked to the girdle of the wearer. The fashion of the pouch, its elaborate embellishments and brazen mountings, seem to fix its period to the reign of Elizabeth, or to that of her successor, James I. It could not, however, have been made for an ordinary person, nor for ordinary use; and the pious sentences on its back suggest the idea that it may have been





GREEN SATIN POUCH TEMP. JAC. I.



employed on state occasions by the *bursarius* of some charity. It is carefully preserved in a case as curious as itself. It is pocket-shaped, made of wood, lined with quilted green silk, and covered with the same; the top being decorated with two tulips, and a large geometrical figure in the centre, wrought in narrow silver gimp.

In a work entitled *A Jewell for Gentrie* (1614), which is, in fact, a modernized edition of the celebrated *Book of St. Alban's*, is a portrait of James I in hawking costume, with a large pouch hung at his side, the circular mouth trimmed with lace or gimp, and the bottom with three full tassels, which were at this period of such an extravagant description, that, in *Troilus and Cressida* (v, 1), Thersites calls Patroclus, "thou tassel of a prodigal's purse."

The rich pouches and their precious contents offered tempting baits to the robbers, who so often succeeded in severing them from the girdles of the wearers, that "cut-purse" became the accepted title for what we should now term a pick-pocket. They had a particular knife for the purpose, which Dekker calls a cuttle; and their dishonest acts are frequently alluded to by the old dramatists. Autolycus, in the *Winter's Tale* (iv, 3), when describing the eagerness of the lads and lasses for his ballads, says, "I picked and cut most of their festival purses"; and further—"To have an open ear, a quick eye, and a nimble hand, is necessary for a cutpurse." Doll Tearsheet (2, *Henry IV*, iii, 4) says to Pistol,—“Away, you cutpurse rascal! you filthy bung, away! By this wine I'll thrust my knife in your mouldy chaps, if you play the saucy cuttle with me.” And in *Henry V* (v, 1) Pistol exclaims,—“Well, bawd will I turn; and something learn to cutpurse of quick hand.” But what has immortalized the craft and their doings, is the *careat* against cutpurses which Ben Jonson puts into the mouth of Nightingale in his *Bartholomew Fair*, and the burden of which is—

“Youth, youth, thou hadst better been starved by thy nurse  
Than live to be hanged for cutting a purse.”

The facility with which the purse could be stolen from the side of the wearer, doubtlessly led to its transfer from the girdle to the pocket, which certainly took place, in some instances, as early as the time of James I; for Ben Jonson makes Ezechial Edgworth tickle Coke's ear with a straw,

whilst he draws the purse from his pocket. And it is a fair inference that the use of the external purse was now on the decline, for we find it mentioned in *As You like It* (ii, 7) as characteristic of old age,—

“The slipper’d pantaloon;  
With spectacles on nose and pouch on side.”

Whatever be the antiquity of the expression of “drawing the purse strings,” it doubtlessly had its origin in times when the mouth of the pouch was closed by cords; and I fancy that the phrase of having a “long purse” (implying that a person is very rich) is in allusion to the long purses with receptacles for money at either end. I have been told that these long or double purses were tucked through the girdle, hanging like a couple of tassels at the side; but I can cite no authority for the statement, nor can I discover when these purses came into vogue. It may, however, be of some service to the future inquirer to lay before you the earliest examples of the long purse that I have met with. The first specimen deserving attention is of a very splendid description, being of light blue velvet lined with white sarcenet, and covered with rich silver lace resembling some of the old guipure in design. It is upwards of thirteen inches in length, and to the pointed end is attached a tassel of silver wire, and two similar tassels depend from the broad end. This rare and beautiful purse is believed to be the work of the seventeenth century, and to have been worn at the side, one extremity being pointed to facilitate its slipping round the belt.

The next specimen forms a striking contrast, in form and appearance, to the last. It is of dark green silk, *woven* in the manner of a stocking; the receptacles for the money being of a more open weave than the rest. It is full eighteen inches long, and when laid flat, one end is three inches across, the other above four inches. Its date is about the year 1700.

Of still greater length is our third purse. It measures no less than twenty-four inches. It is wove of silk, in stripes of yellow, brown, and white, dotted with black. It is of the time of George I.

Our fourth purse is of washleather, printed in imitation of netting, and little exceeds thirteen inches in length. It has a sober, substantial air about it, well suited to the character of the fine old English gentleman of the reign of our second George.



Far gayer than the foregoing is our concluding example, which is netted of white, purple, yellow, green, and crimson silks, arranged in contrasting stripes, with tassels at the ends, and sliding rings bedecked with silver spangles. It measures about twenty-three inches when at its full extent, but draws up so that it scarcely reaches a foot in length. This specimen is not later than the year 1760, and is believed to be of French manufacture.

Among other undecided points in the history of purses is the period when they were first closed with a clasp or snap. The *gipcierre* in the Louvre, already referred to, is stated to have a steel clasp; and the steel clasp of another lately seen in France, is graven with the date 1508. But the clasp certainly did not come into much employ until the last half of the seventeenth century. An embroidered pouch in the British Museum, bearing the date 1693, has a gilt metal snap; and in the museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland is a curious purse-clasp of the time of William III, in which pistols are secreted, and so contrived that their charge enters the hand of the party attempting to open it, if its real construction be unknown. This specimen is of interest as being the one which gave sir Walter Scott the idea of guarding the pouch of Rob Roy with a like apparatus. "I advise no man to attempt opening this sporran till he has my secret," are the cautionary words of Rob Roy to bailie Jarvie.

Though we have no early example of the purse-snaps to produce, a lady has lent me for exhibition a splendid purse of the time of queen Anne, which is designed for a snap. It is of netted silk, each decussation being overlaid with stout gold thread, and powdered with large red strawberries with green stalks and leaves. To adapt this gorgeous fabric for present service, it is mounted with a modern gilt metal snap and tassel, which completely destroys its original character.

It must not be supposed, however, that because the long purse and the purse-snap are traceable to the seventeenth century, that the purse-strings were at once discarded. Among the art treasures in the South Kensington museum are two pink silk purses which are closed with rich cords; and the sides of which are formed of oval plaques of Limoges enamel bearing male and female portraits, in elegant costume, of the time of our third William. In the same collec-

tion are likewise a pair of unmounted plaques by the same hand, which are signed N. L. (Noel Laudin.)

It remains only to remark that, whilst innumerable forms of porte-monnaies have appeared at various times in Europe, the primitive *marsupium* of Italy and Greece still holds its place throughout the East, in proof of which I produce the *kees-el-floos* of modern Egypt. It is a straight-sided bag of cotton cloth, of blue, crimson, and white stripes; the round bottom being formed of two pieces of scarlet and two of green cloth, placed alternately; it is lined with white cotton, and has four loops at the edge, with a blue cord passing through them, to draw the mouth together and suspend the purse by the side. This *kees-el-floos* was purchased at Grand Cairo in 1842, its cost being half a piastre.

## Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 87.)

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26.

THE Association left Norwich by train early this morning, to visit Lynn and Castle Rising. They were met by Alan Henry Swatman, esq., who conducted the party through the town of Lynn (written *Lena* and *Lun* in *Domesday*, and *Len* in some of the charters, signifying a pool or lake) to the Guild Hall, stopping on the way to examine the Red or Rood Mount and the Grey Friars' Tower.

THE CHAPEL OF OUR LADY ON THE MOUNT, OR RED MOUNT, is a singular building, and naturally excited much attention. In its exterior it presents little to interest; but the interior is very curious, and much ornamented. Many parts may even be deemed elegant. It was well said by the late rev. Edward Edwards, F.S.A.,<sup>1</sup> that "such as possess any degree of zealous partiality for the beauties of English architecture, in its best style, can never contemplate the interior of this chapel without surprise and admiration." Mr. Edwards, however, makes the point of admiration to rest much upon its peculiarly diminutive size, in connexion with which it is alike essential to regard its admirable proportions, and the beauty of its ornamentation. Its length is only seventeen feet within, and its width (transept, if we may so call it) extends only fourteen feet. The cruciform character of the chapel (that of a Greek cross) is admirably preserved; and this is the more remarkable, seeing that, externally, the building presents an octangular shape. This structure has scarcely received the attention it merits; and a few words more regarding it may not here be misapplied. It is situated on an elevation on the eastern side of Lynn, and is exteriorly composed of red brick,—hence its name, "Red Mount." The walls constitute an irregular octagon, twenty-six feet in diameter. There are buttresses at the angles, faced with stone. Within the walls a space is left sufficient for a passage round; and in the centre is a substantial pile of masonry containing two vaulted apartments, or stories, beneath the chapel itself, which were approached by staircases from a door in the north-east side. On the south side of the building a staircase conducts to the chapel above; and

<sup>1</sup> See Britton's *Architectural Antiquities*, vol iii, p. 61.



it has been remarked that you are unable to enter the chapel without first having made a complete circuit of the building, making entry by a western door. Vestiges of the altar to the east still remain, and shew it to have been composed of stone slabs about four inches in thickness. There are four windows by which light entered, arranged according to the four cardinal points, in the form of quatrefoils, included in niches. There are niches for images, one of which, though much defaced, shows remains of a canopy. There is a piscina on the south side of the altar. The roof is beautifully groined, and its keystone is a hollow cylinder. The central division presents an exquisite bit of fan tracery; the fans springing from shafts, much mutilated, which ran down the four outer angles of the recesses. The arms of the cross are vaulted in very good quatrefoil panels.

It has been conjectured that this building had at one time been surmounted by a turret; but the purposes to which it has been devoted, and the changes consequent upon them, have taken away any positive *indicia* of such having ever existed.

The name of the original founder of the chapel is unknown. Mr. Edwards refers us to an inquisition taken in the third year of Elizabeth, before sir N. L'Estrange, knight, Thomas Guybon, Henry Minn, and Henry Spilman, esq., the commissioners; in which, however, no information on this point is given. It is generally esteemed to have been founded, or at all events much beautified, by the guild of our Lady in Lynn,—a guild which dates from the 3rd Edward III (1329); but no one would venture to assign a date so early to any part of the building now remaining. Accounts are, however, extant, by which it appears that the guild held meetings in this building, to the honour of our Lady, four times in the year, to celebrate her festivals of purification, annunciation, assumption, and conception. The guild also of St. Fabian and St. Sebastian made offerings to, and attended in, this chapel, one of which is recorded in the 7th Henry VII. It is likely, however, to have been supported by donations made by the reception of a portion of those numerous devotees in the course of their pilgrimage to our Lady of Walsingham. The *compotus* of George Elyngham, prior of St. Margaret, accounts for £16 10s., the profits and offerings of the chapel of the Virgin Mary at the Mount, in the 1st Henry VIII; and it is especially worthy of notice that they amounted to this sum, whilst those at St. Nicholas' chapel were only £6 4s., and St. James', £2 6s. 9d. Mr. Edwards we therefore hold to be warranted in assuming that resources of this kind may have led the way to the formation of this edifice about the reign of Henry VI or Edward IV, and that it may have been based upon some more ancient and more humble building.<sup>1</sup> The outer walls and the lower parts are of a coarse red brick; the chapel is of hewn stone, of a very

<sup>1</sup> Britton's *Architectural Antiquities*, p. 64.



close grain, but not polished, as stated by Grose.<sup>1</sup> When the guilds were suppressed, and the changes consequent upon the Reformation took place, this chapel fell, of course, into disuse. It has undergone many vicissitudes. It was at one time (May 1638) a powder magazine; five years later it was a place of arms, and had a regular bastion thrown up in front of it during the siege of the town by the earl of Manchester.<sup>2</sup> In 1665 it was turned into a pest-house during one of those dreadful visitations of the plague.<sup>3</sup> In 1754 it was contemplated to let the site to a Mr. Mixson, with a proviso that no public house should be erected upon it; but in 1783 it was an observatory,—and this purpose appears to have nearly involved its destruction, for in order to ascend the roof, a window at the north was cut down, and connected with a doorway. The chapel already overhanging the base, and being held together by the strength of the side walls, such an alteration could not be made without endangering the entire fabric. The south wall is now, indeed, rent from the top to the bottom, and water can descend through the joints of the beautiful vaulted roof. Repairs have, however, been made; and we will express our hope that the good inhabitants of Lynn will still look carefully to the conservation of a place so interesting to the architect and antiquary.

Britton<sup>4</sup> has given an excellent plan of the Red Mount chapel, with its interesting details; also a view of the interior of the chapel, shewing the roof and its hollow keystone; a general view of the building from the south-east, from a drawing made by Miss R. Gurney; and a section, from east to west, of the chapel, shewing its south entrance doorway under the altar, the vaulted rooms, stairs, and arched passages; to which we refer our readers as accurate representations of its construction and present condition.

Of the GREY FRIARS there is still to be seen an exquisite little ruin, the remains of a church. The Perpendicular tower, which is hexagonal, and of brick and stone, stands upon four arches of Decorated date: east and west are two large arches; but to the north and south the arches are small, as the walls, east and west, are too close for larger ones. The tower is mainly supported by the large arches, the area between being contracted most ingeniously to give a good balance to the building. Within, the tower is vaulted in fan tracery work, and is open within one stage of the top. This stage was reached by a staircase within a smaller turret placed to the north of the tower, with which it is beautifully and well designed. As the tower itself does not take the form of a tower from the ground, but appears to stand on two buttresses, the passage to

<sup>1</sup> Antiquities of England and Wales, vol. iv, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Hence Grose describes it as included within a bastion.

<sup>3</sup> Parkin, in his Continuation of Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*, says "there is a chimney now standing in it erected during the plague, when it was made a pest-house."

<sup>4</sup> Architectural Antiquities, vol. iii.

the staircase has to traverse across from its first commencement in one of the buttresses to the little turret: an arrangement necessitating a sacrifice of uniformity, which gives to this elevation a most picturesque grouping. On the south side the tower was connected with some other portion of the church,—in fact, what seems to have been another aisle and cloister.

Having arrived at the Town Hall, and been courteously received by the authorities, who had caused the regalia (with the exception of those exhibiting at Manchester) and a selection from the corporation records to be laid upon the table, they were severally examined and reported upon by Mr. Swatman, Mr. Black, and Mr. Planché. Among the regalia were four maces,—two of the time of Charles II; and a sword, reported to have been taken by king John from his side, and presented to the corporation. Mr. Planché distinctly shewed the pommel, from its decoration, to be of the time of Henry VIII, whose name is indeed inscribed on one of its sides.<sup>1</sup> The date of the blade, which is plain, is certainly dubious. A discussion arose in regard to the celebrated corporation cup, engraved by Carter and others; but it being at this time at the Manchester Exhibition, it could not be satisfactorily pursued. Mr. Planché, however, stated it to be of the early part of the reign of Edward III. Mr. Swatman suggested it to have been an obit cup used by the Trinity guild<sup>2</sup> (founded by king John at the instigation of John de Grey, bishop of Norwich) on the anniversaries of king John's death, which induced Mr. Pettigrew to think may have given rise to its ordinary denomination as "king John's cup". It was held to have been given to the corporation upon the dissolution of the guild in the reign of Henry VIII. Badges worn by the waits, or town musicians, were exhibited, having the arms of the town. The matrices of the town seal; a ducking-stool, for the punishment of scolds; and other antiquities, were likewise shewn, and commented on. Mr. Daniel Gurney also kindly submitted to the inspection of the meeting a volume of extracts made by him from the corporation deeds and documents. Further remarks were postponed until the evening meeting; and the party proceeded to view the chapel of St. Nicholas and the church of St. Margaret.

**ST. NICHOLAS' CHAPEL.** To the late rev. E. Edwards, whose notice of the Red Mount has been already referred to, we are indebted for an account of the chapel of St. Nicholas at Lynn: a chapel of ease to St. Margaret in the borough, and regarded as the largest parochial chapel in

<sup>1</sup> Sir Henry Spelman states that he was informed by Thomas Kenet, town clerk of Lynn, that "John Cooke, a sword cutler, got Mr. Ivory, the school-master of the town, to compose the inscription for him in 1580, or thereabouts."

<sup>2</sup> The members of the guild were bound, under the penalty of a gallon of wine, to celebrate mass in St. Margaret's church every Trinity Sunday, for the souls of the king and the bishop. The ordinaries of the guild are given in Parkin's Continuation of Blomefield's *History*, iv, 60.

the kingdom. It is no less than 194 feet in length and 74 feet in breadth. It consists of a lofty nave and two lateral aisles: there is neither transept nor distinct choir. The aisles are divided by eleven arches on the north side and ten on the south. The tower is of an earlier date than the other parts of the fabric. The windows at the east and west are very large, with curved and rectilinear tracery, having also embattled ornaments upon the transoms. The doors are highly ornamented; the western in particular, of which Mr. Britton has given an engraving.<sup>1</sup> This is divided by a mullion which supports an elegant niche, and is adorned with sculpture. The front of the south porch presents also decorations well worthy attention. It is very elaborate, and the ornamentation minute. The roof is handsomely groined. In the centre is the Deity holding a globe in one hand, and giving benediction with the other: angels round are in adoration; and there are also two heads, conjectured to be those of Edward III and his queen Philippa.

The observation already made as to the greater antiquity of the tower will prepare for the remark that this chapel has been built upon the site of one more ancient; and this opinion is confirmed by the style of the tower, which has arches referrible to the time of king Stephen. Parkin, in his *Continuation of Blomefield's History of Norfolk*, assigns this building to bishop Turbus, De Turbe, or Turbeville, a bishop of Norwich consecrated in 1146, who deceased *circa* 1174. This prelate gave it to the priory of Norwich; and, to render it dependent upon St. Margaret, the mother church, debarred it of the rites of baptism and marriage. A chaplain, disapproving this restriction, applied to the pope, and obtained a license to baptize: the bull, however, was recalled at the instance of the bishop and the prior and convent of Norwich. It was then attempted to be made a parochial church; but bishop John of Oxford determined it should be a chapel only. The corporation of Lynn purchased the appropriation of it at the dissolution of the monasteries; and the dean and chapter present to it as a perpetual curacy. The guild of St. George was in St. Nicholas' chapel. The original is supposed to have been too small for the worship of the inhabitants; and in the reign of Edward III it was taken down, and rebuilt upon its present scale. The spire, which was 170 feet high, was blown down September 8, 1741, by which the roof was much injured.

THE CHURCH OF ST. MARGARET is interesting from containing two of the finest brasses in the kingdom. It had a third of renown, which has disappeared. The first in point of date is that of Adam de Walsokne and his wife (1349). It is valuable as giving the domestic costume of a merchant and his wife of the fourteenth century. It is a beautiful specimen, and has been engraved by Cotman. The workmanship is of a very elaborate character, and there are represented the four evangelists

<sup>1</sup> Architectural Antiquities, vol. iii.



and the twelve apostles. In Waller's *Monumental Brasses*,<sup>1</sup> two compartments of this brass are also given. The brass of Robert Braunché and his two wives, Letitia and Margaret, is of the date 1364, and has been engraved by Gough, Carter, and Cotman. It is of rich Gothic work, 8 feet 8 inches in length, and 5 feet 5 inches in breadth. At the foot is the representation of a feast, in which the peacock and other rarities appear. There are fifteen small figures within arches engraved.

The brass of Robert Attelathe (1376), figured by Gough and Cotman, is gone, and reported to have been sold to a brassfounder for 5s. Robert Attelathe was mayor of Lynn in 1374.

After partaking of refreshment, the Association proceeded to Castle Rising, upon arriving at which an unfortunate accident occurred to a most highly esteemed local antiquary, the rev. James Bulwer, M.A., who was thrown from one of the omnibuses, and thereby sustained a fracture of the leg, together with other injuries. This naturally produced interruption, and threw gloom upon the proceedings. It also occasioned the absence of Mr. Pettigrew, who accompanied Mr. Bulwer to Lynn, and assisted him under his misfortune.<sup>2</sup> The Association was met at Castle Rising castle by sir W. J. H. Browne Ffolkes, bart., of Hillington Hall; and Mr. Black (in the absence of Mr. Pettigrew) read the paper on the history and antiquity of the castle.

CASTLE RISING, or RISING CASTLE, is situated four miles north-east of Lynn, and is an illustration of Norman castrametation. In tracing its early history, we learn that the Conqueror bestowed various possessions upon his half-brother Odo, the bishop of Bayeux, which he forfeited by his rebellion against William Rufus; and they were transferred to William d'Albini, to whose son the erection of Castle Rising is attributed. William d'Albini married Adeliza, the widow of Henry I, and then assumed the earldom of Arundel. He was afterwards created the earl of Sussex. The castle passed to the four co-heirs of earl de Warenne and Surrey, in 1243; and upon a partition of the estates, the castle and manor of Rising were assigned to Roger de Montalt, in right of his wife Cecily, whence it descended to Robert de Montalt, of whom, and his contests with the corporation of Lynn, Mr. Swatman has given an exceedingly interesting account in Mr. Henry Harrod's *Castles and Convents in Norfolk*. (p. 27 *et seq.*) By various hands it passed through the family of the dukes of Norfolk, and now belongs to the hon. Mary Howard, widow of lieutenant-colonel Fulke Greville Howard, second son of the first viscount Templetown.

<sup>1</sup> Parts 3 and 5. It is much to be regretted that although this work has reached completion within the 17th number, promised to contain the letter-press, it has not yet appeared. The 16th part was published in Nov. 1846!

<sup>2</sup> It will be gratifying to the members of the Association to know that the rev. Mr. Bulwer has recovered from his severe accident in a very satisfactory manner.



The date to which we are to assign the building of the castle is evidently uncertain; but Mr. Harrod suspects, from the similarity of arrangement in the castles of Norwich and Rising, that the same architect designed both of them.

At one time we find that Castle Rising was in the possession of the "she-wolf of France", Isabella, queen dowager of England; and here, by some chroniclers and historians, her imprisonment and death have been affixed. Mr. Daniel Gurney obligingly communicates to us some valuable extracts derived from the archives of the corporation of Lynn, which serve to enlighten us upon this subject; and Mr. Swatman has questioned the accuracy of the printed statement, and the generally received opinion, in regard to her having been a prisoner in Castle Rising. He says that she travelled to London, Walsingham, Northampton, and Langley; and that she was visited by her son Edward III and his queen in the eighth and ninth years of his reign, and that great entertainment was made by the commonalty of Lynn on these occasions; and Mr. Swatman further questions her having died at Lynn, as no notices relating thereto are to be found in the Lynn rolls. The question in respect to the place of her decease has, however, been satisfactorily determined by Mr. Bond, who, in a paper inserted in the *Archæologia* (vol. xxxv, pp. 453-469) of "Notices of the Last Days of Isabella" (a MS. in the Cottonian Collection, GALBA, E. xiv), of the expenses of her household from October 1357 to December 1358, proves her death to have taken place at Hertford, August 22, 1358. She was buried on the 27th of November, in the choir of the church of the Grey Friars, within Newgate (now Christ Church), the archbishop of Canterbury officiating, and the king himself being present at the ceremony.<sup>1</sup>

With respect to the castle itself, it was built within a circular space enclosed by a bank and a ditch. There are additions to the castle east and west, under a similar arrangement of earthworks. Passing over a bridge, you enter by a Norman gate, whence you may observe all that now remains of its ancient grandeur. These consist of the great tower, or keep, the chapel, gate house, and the walls of the constable's lodgings, a brick building of the time of Henry VI. The destruction of the apartments belonging to this castle must have been rapidly effected, for in the 22nd of Edward IV it is reported, "there was never a house in the castle able to keep out the rain water, wind, or snow."<sup>2</sup> In a survey, made

<sup>1</sup> Sir Francis Palgrave furnished to Mr. Harrod, through Dawson Turner, esq., some extracts from the patent rolls in reference to the treatment of Isabella. Among the Harleian MSS. (2188) also an account is given of Isabella being with Edward III and his queen at the palace of Norwich in 1344, there celebrating his birthday, where, it is stated, "they had an enormous pie, *wondrously* large". And there is an inquisition, taken at Salisbury, which states that she died at the castle of Hertford on the 23rd August, in the 32nd Edward III.

<sup>2</sup> MS. at Carlton Ride office.

19th Henry VII, preserved in the same office, and examined by Mr. Harrod, he found that various parts were then under reparation. With the destruction of the walls, the whole area of the circular work was buried several feet deep; and colonel Howard removed many thousand of loads to level the earth about the great tower to the base line of the building.

A short discussion ensued in which sir W. Ffolkes remarked, that no doubt was entertained as to queen Isabella having been at the castle, but expressed his opinion that she was there only as an "honorary prisoner". In this opinion Mr. Swatman concurred; and stated that, from the examination of several documents, he was induced to assign to the castle the date of *circa* 1162. Mr. Davis made some remarks on the peculiarity of the structure, and observed that the form agreed with the period Mr. Swatman had named; and he also agreed in his view, that it was not a fortified tower, though strongly built.

Near to the castle are the remains of a church which, in Mr. Davis's opinion, belonged to the eleventh century. These examined, a visit was then paid to the village church, which presents a beautiful specimen of a parish church embracing only the architecture of the earlier periods. The western front is in the very best style of Norman architecture, and was probably built about 1140. Mr. Davis remarked, that the work strikingly resembles Ifley church, Oxfordshire, of that date. The front is of three stages; the lower containing a fine western door, the stones above some beautiful arcades, and the upper a restoration of an arcade of stilted arches, harmonising with the increasing altitude of the roof. This restoration is poorly executed, and does not assimilate with the beautiful older work. The tower is central, and agrees in the main features with the architecture of the nave. In the south is a transept, the latest work of the church; the chancel being Early English, or a restoration of that style. To the north of the eastern windows is a singular recess, or tabernacle. The font stands upon a pedestal, which evidently once stood within the walls of the ruined church previously mentioned, as there was found, upon digging, a stone that corresponded in every particular with the base. This fact, probably, places the destruction of the church within the castle, at a date previous to 1140, as this church certainly seems to have been built to supply its place and could scarcely have been built at a later date. The Association had time only to make a cursory examination of this church, which was much to be regretted, as its interior displayed a peculiarly interesting specimen of Ecclesiastical architecture.

The party then returned to Norwich, where an evening meeting was held in the Guildhall.

Mr. Pettigrew read a paper on "the gates of Norwich," (to be printed in a future *Journal*.)

Mr. W. C. Ewing exhibited a carving which had been obtained from sir

J. Fastolfe's house, at Norwich. This was of oak, and had formed part of a chimney-piece in a house in St. Paul's parish, Norwich, said by Blomefield to have been the city house of sir John Fastolf. "There is an ancient house in this parish, opposite to St. James's church, in which Mr. Richard Carr now dwells, which was called, anciently, Fastolff's-place, and was built by the great sir John Fastolff, of Caistor by Yarmouth, knt., and is called in some old evidences his place, or city house in Pokethorpe; to which manor it pays a rent of 1s. 5d. a-year. His great hall is now a baking-office; the bow window is adorned with the images of St. Margaret, St. John the Baptist in his garment of camel's hair, the Virgin Mary, St. Blase holding a wool comb, and St. Catherine. In a large north window are ten effigies of great warriors and chiefs, as David, Sampson, Hercules, etc., holding bows, swords, halberds, etc.; ornaments suitable to the taste of so great a warrior as sir John was". It is well known that all the property of sir John Fastolf passed at his death to the Pastons. Sir John Paston, one of the esquires of the body to Henry VII, was appointed by the king to receive the princess Katherine of Spain, on her landing at Plymouth, in 1501. This chimney-piece was probably put up by him. The supporters of Henry VII—the dragon and greyhound—appear upon it, and in the centre the rose of England impaling the pomegranate of Spain, in allusion to the marriage of prince Arthur and the princess; therefore the date of the carving is pretty clearly made out. Sir John Paston died in 1503. The inscription—*Per eberi deqre, whan God plesce*,—appears not to be perfect, as the board has probably been shortened at both ends. The word *Barri-ter* also occurs, but being imperfect, it is difficult to arrive at its meaning. This carving was several times noticed in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, in 1787, but no light thrown upon its purport.

Mr. BLACK then proceeded to report upon his examination of the documents belonging to the corporation of Lynn. They consisted of a series, stating the transactions of the corporation, beginning in the reign of Edward II, and instead of being written on vellum, as most records of that time were, one book was of paper of a remarkably fine texture, evidently foreign paper, imported in the reign of Edward II. This was probably the earliest book written on paper in existence in the country. The papers began with Edward II, and extended to the reign of Richard II. From the irregular state of the leaves it was impossible to state, without a great deal of study, the earliest or latest date in the book, but it certainly extended over the whole of the fourteenth century. It was principally in the form of a journal of the proceedings of the corporation, and was composed partly of the documents which were produced, and ordered to be enrolled in the court of Husting, which was formerly kept at Lynn. One custom belonging to that court, which was held in most of the cities and principal towns, was to enrol or record all deeds and wills that re-

lated to tenements holden in free burgage, which meant freeholds within the limits of the corporation. There were many interesting wills thus enrolled, most of which only related to property held upon the tenure, but some appeared to be the wills of burgesses, and related to their personality and private affairs, as well as to their lands. Wherever there was a court of Husting, all wills were obliged to be enrolled if they related to lands held in free burgage, though they might refer to all sorts of things besides; and in the city of London there was a vast store of such documents, the existence of which was but little known, extending from the time of Edward I. to Henry VIII, and even later than that. Books of that date were produced to them at Lynn, which consisted principally of proceedings in the different courts of the town, some relating to the appointment of corporate officers, and others appeared to be elections of members of parliament. A series of charters were shown them, belonging to the corporation, from the time of king John to a comparatively late period.<sup>1</sup> Among them was the foundation charter of the liberties and privileges of the borough, the date of which was the 14th September, in the sixth year of the reign of king John, granted at the instance of John Grey, bishop of Norwich, constituting it a free borough, but subject to the bishop. This charter was in duplicate; one retained the seal in green wax, the other had lost the seal. It might seem strange to some, that charters of this kind should be sealed and made out in duplicate, but it was not unusual in early times, because the grantees were thereby enabled to retain one in safe custody, whilst they took the other to produce in any court when required, in order to maintain their rights and privileges. The great charter of our liberties was made out in the same manner. Most persons imagined that king John took a sheet of paper and signed it with a pen; and pictures might be seen representing in a ridiculous manner the process of signing the Magna Charta, a thing which John never did. The document was made out in the usual way by the officers of chancery; every city and county had an original, as well as every one who was appointed to see it carried out, so that there must have been a large number of them originally distributed, all of which were equal in originality and genuineness. There were confirmations of a charter to the borough of Lynn, by the two succeeding kings, but he did not recollect seeing one by Henry III. There were several other charters granting privileges to the men of Lynn, of later dates, and two more were shown them relating to a house, lands, tenements, ferry, and other matters. There were some beautiful documents of ancient inquisitions, with the seals of the jurors attached. One seemed to be an inquisition

<sup>1</sup> The first charter is of 6th John, 1204; the second, of Henry III, 1233; and the third in the same reign, 1268. There are no less than fifteen charters belonging to this borough, some of which are given in Blomefield's *Norfolk*, and Mackarell's *History of Lynn*.



sition taken by the constable or constables of the town, which made it appear that the constable was acting like a coroner, pannelling a jury to inquire into homicides and robberies. The jurors signed the inquisition. He merely saw the purport of the document. There was one document which proved to be a record of the proceedings of a meeting held in the reign of Henry II, of a singular kind. It appeared that the burgesses, being generally assembled in common hall, appointed a certain number who were, he thought, constables, who were charged to elect a certain number of jurors, who were sworn to do what seemed to them most expedient for the welfare of the corporation in selecting men to represent the borough in parliament. The singularity of this proceeding was, that a sort of electoral college was established; the whole body of the voters first made choice of a certain portion of their number, who chose certain others, who were sworn to act to the best of their skill and knowledge. By these means the tumult and trouble of a popular election were certainly got rid of, for the gentlemen who were sworn met in the council chamber, elected certain persons, and in fact returned them as members to serve in parliament. Some other charters were produced before them, which were not connected with the corporation, but remained in its possession; one of them was exceedingly valuable, on account of its antiquity and beauty. It was an original charter from king Canute, in Latin and Anglo-Saxon, and contained the names of the king, queen, and all the nobles who assented to the grant. It was to St. Edmundsbury Abbey, and from the explanation of the town-clerk it seemed to have come into the possession of the corporation of Lynn at the time of the purchase of abbey property, which was sold by the crown after the dissolution of the monastery. There was also a document purporting to be a charter of Hardicanute, but it was clearly not an original, even if it were a genuine charter. He supposed it was a copy of about the twelfth century. He saw, however, no reason to doubt the originality or the genuineness of the other charter, which was as clean and sound now as it was in the day when it was written, which was eight centuries and a half ago.<sup>1</sup> Some documents were presented to them which they had scarcely time to look at. Some were engrossed copies of documents, and others were original rolls of courts leet holden before the seneschal. Among the original documents, there were two small books which contained the charters of king John, one related to Bishop's Lynn, which he had copied, and he proposed, in his researches among the cathedral records, to look up anything which threw light upon the subject it referred to.

Mr. PETTIGREW then requested Mr. C. E. Davis to report upon the examination of Castle Rising and the church.

<sup>1</sup> These charters, in Anglo-Saxon and in Latin, together with English translations, may be found in the *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. iv, pp. 93-117. There are others to be seen in Mackarell's *History of Lynn Regis*.

Mr. DAVIS said, having examined Castle Rising with Mr. Swatman, he had come to the conclusion, that the date of its erection was, as nearly as possible, 1160. From the appearance of the architecture, it seemed that the building was intended more for the purpose of habitation than of defence, as the earthworks were sufficient to protect it. The windows were very large for the period when it was erected, and it had not the appearance of having ever been a strong fortification. On three sides, there were three very handsome windows, of a peculiar construction, the general outline being circular, and they were the first specimens of that style of window he ever saw. He had reason to believe that they were part of the original work, although they seemed to belong to a somewhat later period. The entrance was by five stairs, and was similar to that at New-castle. Over the entrance door were two circular windows, which were rather uncommon in a work of that period, and perhaps not to be found anywhere else. It was rather difficult to say now whether the openings were originally intended for windows. To the north of the castle, and partly imbedded in the fortification, were the remains of a very ancient church,<sup>1</sup> consisting of a nave, central tower, and a chancel, terminating in an apse. This church seemed to have been buried at the erection of the castle, giving a prior date to the church, which was built 100 or 200 years before. It would be difficult to assign a precise date to the building, but he should not hesitate to say that it was as early as the eleventh century, if not earlier. In the apse were three very small windows. This church was very similar in structure to the early chapels in Ireland, having a square central tower, and small nave. If the earth were cleared from those windows, it would be a great advantage, as then the date of the building could be determined. The first church being buried, another was built,<sup>2</sup> which was of the same date as the castle. From what they saw of it, they were struck with its beauty in every respect, the west end being a very fine specimen of the best period of Norman architecture; the east end was equally good, of a later period. The tower occupied exactly the same position as the tower in the original church; and the font, now placed in the nave, was not in the old form of tub-shaped, but a capital on a singular base; and they were informed that there were marks of its having originally belonged to the former church, as an indentation in the foundation exactly fitted it.

Mr. BLACK said the old church was a very rude work, being almost Cyclopæan in character.

This closed the proceedings.

#### THURSDAY, AUGUST 27.

This day was devoted to an excursion to Great Yarmouth, Caister Castle, and Burgh Camp. The Association had been most kindly in-

<sup>1</sup> See p. 152 *ante*.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*

vited by their associate, sir S. Morton Peto, bart., to visit Somerleyton Hall, but time would not permit of their having this enjoyment. The party arrived at Yarmouth, at 11, A.M., and proceeded to the Town Hall, where they were met and most cordially greeted by C. C. Aldred, esq., the mayor, and Charles John Palmer, esq., F.S.A., the deputy-mayor, to whose great kindness the Association were indebted for most excellent arrangements. Mr. Palmer, whose familiarity with all that is interesting, in an antiquarian point of view, in Yarmouth is well known, then undertook to conduct the Association over the town, and exhibit that which was worthy of particular notice. To this gentleman we are indebted for the following interesting observations:—

“If we recall to mind the map of Roman Norfolk, which has been placed in the hands of the members of the Association, we can form some idea of the state of this locality eighteen hundred years ago. Where Yarmouth now stands, the *Gariensis Ostium* then was; and the marshes which now extend from Gorleston, Bradwell, and Burgh on the one side, to Caister and Stokesby on the other, were then covered by the waters of the ocean, whilst the rivers running into the interior were, so to speak, the *fingers* to this great arm of the sea.

“Such was the appearance of this part of the country when the Romans invaded Britain. They were not slow in availing themselves of the facilities afforded by this estuary for penetrating into the country of the Iceni, and we may trace their footsteps on either side, by what remain of their camps and stations. At the mouth of the estuary, there was a sandbank, which in process of time lifted its head above the waters and gradually became firm land. Then, as now, a bountiful Providence had ordained that this coast should, at a particular period of the year, swarm with herrings; and the fishermen who came from other parts of England, especially those from the five, or Cinque Ports (then and for many years the principal seaports in England), found it convenient to land on this sandbank at the mouth of the *Gariensis* or *Yare*, over which, in process of time, they acquired the rights of *den* and *strand*, or the privilege of landing and drying their nets, whilst others made it the place of their permanent abode.

“By the reign of king Edward the Confessor, Yarmouth had literally so *risen*, as to number seventy burgesses; and in 1209, king John constituted it a free burgh, by a charter preserved in the hutch or town chest; and in the reign of Henry III, a *Free Fair* was established,—the great mart for herrings, which lasted from the feast of St. Michael to the feast of St. Martin, and was frequented by the fishermen of France, Flanders, and other foreign countries.

“In the earliest times, probably some tabernacle or rude structure of wicker-work was used as a place for devotion until a permanent church was built. It is conjectured that St. Felix, who was the first bishop in

this part of the country (being consecrated in 636), and who fixed his see, or seat, at Dunwich (a place long since swallowed by the waves) founded the first church here. A church dedicated to St. Bennet was in existence in the time of king Edward the Confessor, and continued until the year 1100, when it gave place to the church of St. Nicholas.

“Bishop Herbert, to whom we are indebted for the foundation of the present structure, was one of those men who have indelibly impressed their names on the page of history. He built the conventual cathedral at Norwich, and attached to it the church of St. Nicholas, which was not, however, finished until the year after the bishop’s death, in 1119. It was not then the large and ‘lightsome’ church which we now see; on the contrary, it was much smaller, and it must have been somewhat dark and gloomy. In order to realise it to the mind’s eye, we must demolish the present west end and take away the present large aisles, and substitute very small aisles (merely sufficient for a procession, for which purpose they were used) and lean-to roofs; and we must suppose these aisles to be lighted by small round-headed Norman windows. The square tower, at the intersection of the transepts with the nave, is almost the only part of the Norman church which remains. Within the tower may still be seen some of the old Norman windows with their peculiar splay; and also a curious Norman arcade, which was uncovered during the restoration of the church. That indefatigable antiquary, the rev. John Green, when the body of the church was cleared before being re-seated, discovered the ancient foundations to a considerable extent; and the rev. John Gunn, of Irstead, has most successfully developed the foundations of the original church and what remains of Norman work.<sup>1</sup>

“As the town increased in wealth, population, and importance, so did the church in size and beauty; but the principal alterations, and those which remain to this day, are attributed to bishop Middleton, who in 1286 consecrated the church and churchyard to the honour of St. Nicholas. At the extremities of the drip-stone which still surrounds the east window of the north aisle of the chancel, there are two corbel heads, one of which is supposed to be that of the bishop, and the other of king Edward; the latter has been copied and engraved by Mr. William Fisher. The style which was then introduced was Early English; the beautiful triple lancet window at the west end of the nave is of this style. There is also a magnificent window now screened by the organ. The windows in the north aisle of the chancel are very simple, but pleasing specimens. When this style became prevalent, the architects of that day removed the Norman arches which supported the tower, and inserted the lofty Early

<sup>1</sup> For a full account of the church of St. Nicholas, its foundation, structure, etc., we must refer our readers to Mr. Palmer’s Continuation of Manship’s *History of Great Yarmouth*, to which the attention of our associates was drawn in vol. xiii, pp. 71-77, for 1857.



English arches (with foliated capitals) which we now see. After many years, the inserted mouldings gave way, and the architects of a past generation, not being archæologists, believed that the whole fabric was in danger; but the tower stands firm to this day, notwithstanding the mutilations it has undergone.

“The reason why the aisles were made so large was in order to accommodate the mortuary chapels which were then in vogue. Rich merchants desired to have a chapel to themselves, where they could, with their families, offer their prayers to some favourite saint, and where they desired eventually to be buried. There were also numerous *Guilds*, each of which had a chapel, and thus the aisles became lined with these chapels, some traces of which still remain, especially in the south aisles, where a mutilated canopied sepulchral arch marks the Fastolf chapel, the burial-place of the father of the famed sir John. The arms of Fastolf can still be traced upon a small shield. Lights were kept constantly burning in these chapels, and before the high altar, and lands bequeathed to support the expense were called Lamp Lands, as we find them still designated at Lowestoft, although the rents are now applied to more useful purposes. Notwithstanding the immense size of the church, it was found insufficient, and some “new work” was commenced at the west end. Considerable progress was made when that terrible scourge, the plague, broke out in 1348, and swept away 6,000 of the inhabitants, so that the angel of death hovered over every dwelling, and many years elapsed before the town recovered its former prosperity. Previous to this time Yarmouth had been very flourishing. She assisted king Edward III with more ships and men than any other port in the kingdom; and the town consequently stood in great favour with that able monarch. His shield of arms and those of the Black Prince, and of his other sons, and of some of his principal nobility, may still be seen emblazoned on the ceiling of the church. These arms have been elucidated and explained by T. W. King, esq.,<sup>1</sup> York Herald; and also by Mr. Francis Worship.

“The last architectural alterations before the Reformation were those works which are seen in the Perpendicular style, such as the windows in the north and south aisles (where the Early English mouldings still remain;) the great east window at the south aisle of the chancel, and the south window of the south transept. The latter is a bad specimen, and ought to be removed. The north window of the transept is modern and was designed by Mr. I. H. Hakewill, to whom the restoration of this church was intrusted.

“All, however, was changed at the Reformation, and every article which, in the language of the day, ‘smelt of superstition’ (which appears to have comprised everything of the least value), was recklessly despoiled, so that in the reign of queen Elizabeth it was necessary to pass an act of

<sup>1</sup> Norfolk Archæology, vol. ii, pp. 149-182.



parliament to restrain this devastation. No church has been more unfortunate in this respect than St. Nicholas. In 1551, the corporation ordered all the sepulchral brasses to be torn up from their stones and sent to London, there to be cast into weights for the use of the town; and the churchwardens in 1560, transported the gravestones of the churchyard to Newcastle, to be converted into grindstones.

“ Upon the suppression of the monastery of the Holy Trinity at Norwich, the patronage of the church here was handed over to a newly constituted body, the dean and chapter, who thus became possessed of the priory, which up to that period had been inhabited by the chaplains and monks who served the church. The dean and chapter suffered the priory buildings to fall into utter decay, so that great part of them were demolished, and the rest, including the Great Hall, were converted into stables, and used for other ignoble purposes.

“ But as regards the church, a still more terrible ordeal had to be gone through; a struggle between absolute power on the one hand, and popular will on the other, convulsed the land; and a king's head was rolled in the dust. The Puritans, the Presbyterians, and the Independents, seized upon the church; and to accommodate the latter, the arches dividing the transepts and tower from the chancel were bricked up as we now see them. At the restoration, there were four ministers of religion, of different opinions, in the occupation of the church. When episcopacy was re-established, little or nothing was done towards the reparation of the church; especially that part of it called the ‘middle aisle’ of the chancel, which was suffered to fall into great decay. A sad and disreputable dispute arose between the town and the dean and chapter respecting its repair. The latter, to whom it rightfully belonged, refused to repair it, because they had made a lease of it to their farmer. The latter repudiated the liability, so that nothing was done; and at last, in 1784, the whole of the extreme east end fell to the ground. It was then actually proposed by those in authority to pull down the whole of the north aisle, and the tower and spire, and to employ the money in patching up the remainder of the church.

“ This, however, the parish would not permit, and the dean and chapter, or their incumbent, had to repair the extreme east end, which they at last did in a very barbarous and illegal manner, shortening the church ten feet, and putting up the wretched wooden window which still remains. It is but just to say that in more recent and better times, the dean and chapter have with great taste repaired the four remaining windows in this part of the church, and it is believed that the present enlightened body will now see the propriety of restoring that portion which has been lost to us by the negligence of their predecessors; and they may be assured that all antiquaries as well as the people of Yarmouth will duly appreciate such consideration on their part.

“When the whole church was open from end to end it must have had a very grand appearance; especially as the windows were then filled with stained glass, and pictures, banners, and tapestry adorned the walls. In the chancel may be seen a small fresco representing knights in chain armour entering a church, which is worthy of observation. The pavement was decorated with brasses laid upon incised sepulchral stones, and it is much to be lamented that these simple and beautiful memorials of the dead should have been ruthlessly torn from their slabs, by those who pretended they were doing good to the town by casting them into weights. If spared, they would have handed down to us the names and armorial bearings of those who flourished at an early period of our history, besides presenting us with a faithful portraiture of the dresses, both civil and military, of the times in which they were executed, and their inscriptions would be valuable for genealogical purposes. Some of the incised stones still remain. Sufficient of the reredos remains to attest its former magnificence. The sedilia are more perfect. An *altar stone* now forms part of the pavement under the north-east window of the chancel.

“The tower and spire remained standing till 1803, when under a probably mistaken notion of their insecurity they were taken down, and the present one, which has a stunted appearance, was erected in lieu of the former spire which tapered to the height of 186 feet. It is to be hoped, that when more important works are accomplished, it will be replaced by a spire more in accordance with the size of the church.

“Another very injudicious expenditure of money was made in plastering the south side and west end of the church. One of the greatest charms which a church can possess is that venerable aspect which time alone can give and which no money can purchase. Surely the parishioners, if they possessed any taste at all, must have felt some remorse when they saw their old church come out, as it were, ‘speck and span’ new. This plaster is now peeling off, and it is to be hoped that means will be taken to allow the church to be seen as it once was.

“Not many years ago an order was made to brick up the great east window of the south aisle of the chancel, but this was rather too strong a measure to suit the growing taste of the age. It had this good effect, it stirred up the latent affection of the parishioners to their church, and from that time may be dated the commencement of those exertions which have since been so successfully made to restore the church and make it what it now is. Those who recollect its former condition—the confined space allotted to public worship—its huge galleries—its lumbering pews—its gingerbread mayor’s seat—its ‘marble’ roof—and other deformities—and compare such a state of things with its present aspect, cannot but rejoice in the change.”

Prior to visiting St. Nicholas’ church, and on the road thither, Mr. Palmer had conducted the party to his house on the South Quay, which



was built in 1596, by Benjamin Cowper, esq., a wealthy merchant and burgess in parliament for the town (whose initials, together with date, are carved on the chimney-piece in the dining room), and afterwards passed into the possession of John Carter, esq., whose son, Benjamin Carter, married Mary, daughter of general Ireton by his wife Bridget eldest daughter of Oliver Cromwell. Carter took a leading part in political affairs; and it was in this house, in the room now used as a drawing-room, that the execution of Charles I was finally determined. The sides of the room are covered with elaborately carved panels, which were much admired. All the rooms are filled with paintings by the first masters, and the selection and arrangement evince the most refined taste and judgment. Carved on the chimney piece of the drawing room are the arms of the kingdom as settled on the accession of king James I. In the breakfast room is a good portrait of Oliver Cromwell, formerly in the possession of Bernard Barton, the quaker poet, of Woodbridge; and another portrait of the Protector in the dining room; as also a portrait of Mary queen of Scots; and a portrait of Charles I, similar in every respect to the well known portrait by Vandyke in the Pembroke collection at Wilton. Other historical celebrities are exhibited in considerable profusion; while in almost every part of the house are to be seen objects of great interest.

Mr. Palmer then conducted the party to the site of the Grey Friars' monastery, which he pointed out, informing them that the only portion now existing was part of a cloister, which might be seen in one of the neighbouring cottages. The grey friars, or Franciscans, settled probably about the same time as the Dominicans, at Yarmouth. On the authority of Speed, sir William Gerbrigge, knight, established them here in 1271. Their boundaries cannot now be defined, but they extended over the ground now known as Queen-street, where, in some of the cellars, the springing of arches of the cloisters may be seen, and the richly ornamented groined roof can be traced through some cottages. Sir Richard Cromwell obtained a grant from the crown of the abbey lands. He died in 1546, and it is remarkable that in his will no mention is made of this possession. Many deeds connected with this establishment were in the corporation records, but have disappeared; the corporation, however, had possession as early as 1569. In 1575, they let out the Grey Friars, and repaired them in 1607; and in the following year a charter for their possession was obtained of James I. In 1657, they were sold by the corporation to Mr. John Woodroffe, for the sum of £2,600, subject to the condition of building a broad row and a narrow row, within five years, on the premises. Attention was directed to some merchants' marks on the front of a house on the South Quay, and a visit was also paid to a cottage close by, in which was a fine moulded ceiling of the time of James I. At the residence of Mrs. Dick a similar ceiling of the same period, and



a beautiful carved chimney-piece and some panelling of about the year 1595, were inspected with great interest. Mr. Palmer now conducted the party to Friar's-lane, the boundary of the Dominican or black friars' convent.

The black friars are conjectured by Mr. Palmer to have settled in Yarmouth, about the same time they came to Norwich, namely, 1226. William of Worcester assigns the date of 1267, and says the convent was finished in 1273. They obtained additional ground in 1271.<sup>1</sup> The conventual church is reported to have been built by Godfrey Pilgrim, who died in 1304, and who is styled by William of Worcester, "*vir nobilis et magnificus nominatus per totum regnum.*" The building was consumed by fire shortly before the dissolution. Mr. Palmer has figured the conventual seal (p. 367). From this authority we find that the Dominicans established themselves in the south of Yarmouth; the Franciscans in the centre; the Carmelites at the north; and the Augustinians in Southtown, with a cell in Yarmouth. Record only of one burial has been obtained in the Black Friars of Yarmouth; it is to be found in the College of Arms (MS. F. 9, Interments), Thomas, son of sir Thomas Bowett, knight, a family now represented by Lord Dacre. Edmund Hercock appears, from a volume of Norris's collection in the possession of our associate, A. W. Woods, esq., Lancaster herald, to have been the last prior in 1532. No list of priors is known. Neither are there any remains to mark the site of the convent. They are however known, and appear to have occupied about six acres in an oblong square, bounded by the town wall, south and east; and on the north by South-street, formerly called Friar's-lane, and abutting westward upon the haven.

Mr. Palmer next pointed out the site of the south gate, and subsequently directed attention to the ruins of some towers of the date of Henry III, remains of the old town wall, and a mound (near the Yarmouth Hospital) raised in 1588, as a defence against the Spanish armada. The Toll-house Hall was next visited. It is the house which was formerly used by the corporation for the collection of their tolls. Part of it is now employed as a jail, and in another part the meetings of the corporation are held. Mr. Palmer pointed out some curious old door and arch-ways, and he exhibited the charter of king John, by which Yarmouth was made a free borough. The charter is preserved in what is called the hutch (from *hucche*, an ark, chest, or coffer). Two keys belonging to this iron chest are now employed; formerly it had three, and they were severally kept by the churchwardens, the chamberlains, and the treasurer of the plate, money, etc. The town-clerk had the custody of the key of the Guildhall, where the hutch is placed. In the corporation chest is a map drawn on vellum, of the time of Elizabeth, showing

<sup>1</sup> See *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. iii, p. 377, in an interesting communication from Mr. Palmer on the Dominican monastery.

the popular belief that before Yarmouth was built, the sea had flowed up to Norwich. In a chamber of the Toll-house was formerly a piece of tapestry, now on the grand staircase at Goodrich Court. A peculiar feature of Yarmouth is that the houses are built in rows. There was no cross street until 1813; all ran north and south before. According to Nashe, quoted by Mr. Palmer, there were in 1598 *seven score* rows; there are now 154, all running east to west, and thus afford access from one into the other. Some of these yield illustrations of domestic architecture of an early period. Prior to 1804, they were known only by the names of persons living in them; they had no numbers:—thus, there were Dame Aveline's Row, Kitty Witches Row, etc. It is known, that several persons were hanged, and others punished as witches in Yarmouth, towards the close of the sixteenth century.

The party then proceeded to view the church of St. Nicholas; after which they returned to the Town Hall, and then proceeded to Caister Castle, distant about four miles, where Mr. Pettigrew read a paper in relation to its history and structure. (To be printed in the next *Journal*.)

Partially buried in the earth-work, were observed the remains of a small church now in part uncovered. It consists of an apse or presbytery, a square area, forming the choir above, which was probably a low tower, and a nave still farther eastward. The plan of the whole occupies but a very small area, and in no part is there any work of architectural pretensions, the walls being also devoid of plaster. In the apse are small circular-headed loop-holed windows, the work of which might very possibly give a date, but the exterior of these is still enclosed by earth. The walls are thick and unbuttressed, and appear to have once sustained a stone arched roof in the manner of the small Irish churches. Mr. Davis was of opinion, that this was, if not older, certainly the work of the eleventh century; at the same time he stated, he scarcely desired to hazard such an opinion, as it was very possible, if he could see the arch stones of the exterior of the windows, he could with certainty name a date probably earlier, which would make this church the most ancient in Norfolk.

From Caister the Association proceeded to Burgh. Arrived at the village, they first examined the church, a neat structure, which has been almost entirely renewed. The only objects interesting to archæologists are an octagonal font with angels, lions, and shields of arms (described in Dr. Husenbeth's paper), and a round tower of flint, mixed with Roman tile. The remains of the camp were then visited.

Sir John P. Boileau kindly presented engravings<sup>1</sup> of the Camp remains to the members and visitors, and Mr. Pettigrew read the following short paper:

“THE CAMP OF BURGH was raised by Publius Ostorius Scapula, a

<sup>1</sup> These will be found in the first part of vol. 5 of the *Norfolk Archæology*.

celebrated Roman general. It was strongly fortified, and constituted a place of considerable importance, occupying more than five acres of ground. It is on the brow of a hill, and near the confluence of the Yare and Waveney. A large portion of the walls, formed of flint, rubble and layers of tiles, still remains to testify to the durability of Roman workmanship. They are fourteen feet in height and nine feet in thickness, the west side is that towards the sea and was the only one left open. There were four rounded towers on the east, the north, and the south corners. The towers were not built into the wall, but cemented with it by masonry at the top. (See view of south-east tower). The foundation of the east entrance-gate has been discovered by excavations made by Mr. Henry Harrod, and the spirited exertions of sir John P. Boileau, bart. The strength and the nature of the material of which the walls are composed, one would have thought to be such as to deter any engineer or speculator from attempting their destruction, yet it was really in contemplation to attempt their demolition in the making of a railway. Fortunately, however, there was to be found in Norfolk one who esteemed this historical landmark, and was desirous of preserving it to his country. Whilst others were lamenting over the intended desecration, and archæological societies were engaged in corresponding with hard hearted directors, he stepped in, and with a liberality which must endear him not only to the Norfolkians, but also to all those of his fellow-countrymen who have taste for the study of antiquities, and are anxious for the progress of archæological knowledge, made a purchase of the property, and meets us this day with a just feeling of pride to witness our admiration of the structure and receive our hearty thanks for his public spirit and devotion to science. Roman remains, chiefly coins and urns, have here been discovered.”<sup>1</sup>

An examination of the ruins was then made, and a conversation took place, in which sir John P. Boileau, in reply to remarks from Mr. Vere Irving, Mr. Pettigrew, and Mr. Planché, detailed the nature of the excavations made by Mr. Harrod,<sup>2</sup> to ascertain the existence or non-existence of a protective or defensive wall on the river side of the camp. Burgh, as it stands, now displays only three walls, those north, east, and south, while the west lies open. Sir John stated that the excavations in the low grounds disclosed the foundations of a wall of the same breadth as the walls of the camp yet standing, and most assuredly of Roman masonry—probably the wall was a quay wall, or a dwarf wall, and not

<sup>1</sup> See King's *Munimenta Antiqua*, and Ivers' *Remarks on Garionorum*, edited by Mr. Dawson Turner in 1803. It was here that Sigebert is recorded to have founded a monastery called Cnobersburg, *circa* 640; but the merit of this has also been claimed for an Irish saint, by name Fursey. Sigebert, king of East Anglia, was a monk in the monastery. Upon his death, Mr. Palmer tells us, St. Fursey went to France, and it then fell under the protection of bishop Felix. Its dissolution, however, occurred at a very early period.

<sup>2</sup> Read before the Society of Antiquaries, November 29, 1855.

strictly defensive in the same sense as the remains of the massive circumvallations on the other sides.

Returning to Yarmouth, a party numbering upwards of eighty, sat down in the Town Hall to dinner, C. C. Aldred, esq., the mayor, presiding. The company was addressed by the mayor, C. J. Palmer, esq., the deputy-mayor, sir John P. Boileau, bart., sir Thomas Beevor, knight, sir Fortunatus Dwaris, Mr. Daniel Gurney, Mr. Planché, Mr. Pettigrew, and others; after which, the party adjourned to Mr. Palmer's house, where they were most courteously received by Mrs. Palmer, and elegantly entertained. A most agreeable conversation was held, and Mr. Palmer's collections of paintings, ancient documents, seals, and other antiquities inspected.<sup>1</sup> A special train conveyed the Association, at a late hour, back to Norwich.

#### FRIDAY, AUGUST 28.

An excursion to Binham and Walsingham priories, and to East Barsham hall, was arranged for this day; and originally it was intended to have made an inspection of East Dereham church; but as this could not be readily accomplished, and as the church had already received merited attention from the Archæological Institute, it was determined to substitute the churches of Little and Great Snoring. Proceeding, therefore, by rail to Fakenham, carriages were procured to convey the party on their road to Walsingham.

Little Snoring church is dedicated to St. Mary, and is a good example of Norman transition, and has a rich Norman font sculptured with foliage. Its most remarkable feature is a detached round tower or belfry, distant about five feet from the church. There are Norman windows and Norman doorways, but the west window is Decorated. The others are of much later time.

St. Mary, Great Snoring, is a much larger building and of mixed styles, Early English, Decorated, and Perpendicular. The rectory house attached is of moulded brickwork, of the time of Henry VIII, and exceedingly interesting. The carved door gives the rebus of the Shelton's, whose effigies are in the church, and have been engraved by Cotman.

Binham Priory was now visited, and the following paper read by Mr. Pettigrew:

"BINHAM PRIORY is a cell to St. Albans, having the arms of that abbey *azure*, a saltire *or*. It is situated three miles north-east of Walsingham, and is a foundation of prior date to that of Walsingham, having been established by Peter de Valloniis (Valoines), a nephew of



<sup>1</sup> Numerous paintings of considerable merit, by Ghisolfi, Wouvermans, Patel, Hals, De Vos, Luini, Cuyp, Tintoretto, sir Peter Lely, Gainsborough, Zuccherro, sir Godfrey Kneller, etc., adorn the rooms, hall, and staircase.



William the Conqueror and Albreda his wife, early in the reign of Henry I., and, according to Tanner, between the years 1093 and 1106. It was for Benedictine monks, held subordinate to the monastery of Cluni and dedicated to St. Mary.

"This monastery, of which Matthew Paris speaks as a cell, in the time of abbot Paul, who died in 1093, was, agreeably to the same authority,<sup>1</sup> besieged by Robert Fitzwalter who claimed to be patron. He was upon the most friendly terms with the prior Thomas (1st and 2d John.) In consequence of this friendship and too close intimacy, the abbot of St. Albans removed the prior, upon which Fitzwalter is reported to have produced a false deed of patronage, grounded upon which, he laid siege to the monastery. The monks on this occasion endured great hardships, were compelled to eat bread made of bran, and to drink the rain water which issued from the pipes. King John was enraged at the proceeding of Fitzwalter, and is declared to have sworn according to his usual manner: "Ho! by God's feet, either I or Fitzwalter must be king in England. Ho! by God's feet, who ever heard of such things in peaceable times in a Christian land"! A force was forthwith despatched, and the siege speedily raised. Fitzwalter fled. His friend and fellow-soldier, Fitzwilliam, surrendered the spurious deed and presented, as a propitiation of his share in the offence, a silver gilt cup to the abbey of St. Alban.

"At the Dissolution, there were but six monks in the priory, and its revenues were valued at £140 5s. 4d. according to Dugdale, and at £160 1s. according to Speed. The reversion of the site and the possessions of the house were, in the 31st Henry VIII, granted to Thomas Paston, esq., the fifth son of sir William Paston, knight; and again, in the 33rd of the same reign.

"An impression of the seal of the priory is appended to a deed preserved in the Chapter House, at Westminster. It represents the angel Gabriel appearing to the Virgin Mary, who is seated, and holds in her left hand a book. A dove is descending upon her head. The legend around reads: SIGILLVM. ECCL'IE. BE. MARIE. DE. BINHAM.

"The nave of the church of the monastery is still used as the parish church, but the north and south aisles are gone. The remains offer portions of Norman, Early English, Decorated, and Perpendicular architecture. The conventual church presents the greater part of the Norman time. The refectory and chapter house presents the Early English; the Decorated is seen in the chapter house also, and in the dormitory; whilst the Perpendicular prevails in the cloister, and in the additions which have been made to the conventual church. The Norman parts exhibit the billet moulding. The church has a fine Perpendicular font, sculptured in the upper panels with illustrations of the seven sacraments,

<sup>1</sup> Hist., p. 1049, ed. 1684.

and in the niches below are the figures of various saints.<sup>1</sup> There was a rood screen, which at the time of the Reformation was painted over, and the church had texts of scripture written in black letters, together with heads and portions of the drapery of saints, and likewise a portrait of Henry VI.

“There have been various engravings of Binham priory. Buck engraved it in 1738; a south-west view is given in Dugdale’s *Monasticon* (iii, 341), and Britton (*Architectural Antiquities*, iii, 72), represents the ruins as seen in 1809; he gives also a plate of details and engravings of the priory church, its arches, piers, and columns; also a figure of the font. Illustrations of the aisle windows and of the side doorways in the west front are also given in Collings’s *Details of Gothic Architecture*, vol. i. Mr. Harrod<sup>2</sup> has given an interesting cut to illustrate the curious feature in the windows at the west end of the north aisle, where a transom is to be seen at about a third of their height. When the west end was altered, the Norman vaulting of the aisles of the nave was destroyed, and a loftier vaulting substituted; which, as Mr. Harrod has remarked, permitted the lower portion of these windows to give light into the aisles, and raised the floor of the triforium level with the upper line of the transom.”

The ruins were now fully examined, and the Association proceeded to Walsingham. The town of Walsingham is full of interest, but time only permitted of a particular investigation of the priory, where the party was met by sir Willoughby Jones, bart., and others, and most courteously received by the rev. H. D. Lee Warner and family.

Mr. Pettigrew commenced the proceedings by the reading of a paper.<sup>3</sup> After which, the rev. James Lee Warner undertook to conduct the Association over every part of the grounds, descanting in a most lucid manner upon the several interesting features with which he is so intimately acquainted. The excavations lately made were closely examined under the able guidance of Mr. John Warner and Mr. C. E. Davis, and points of difference entertained between the former gentleman and Mr. Harrod, in regard to the period to which the architecture was to be ascribed fully gone into.

Having devoted as much time as could be given to the examination of this interesting place, the company were invited to partake of an elegant repast, and the thanks of the Association expressed by Mr. Pettigrew to their most respected and venerable host. Quitting Walsingham, on their road back to Fakenham, a visit was paid to East Basham, or Barsham Hall, an exceedingly interesting specimen of brickwork of the time of Henry VII. Here Mr. Pettigrew made the following remarks:

<sup>1</sup> See remarks by the very rev. Dr. Husenbeth, pp. 51-56 *ante*.

<sup>2</sup> *Gleanings, etc.*, p. 205.

<sup>3</sup> This, together with Mr. Warner’s and Mr. Davis’s reports, will be printed in a future *Journal*.

"The late Mr. Britton was of opinion that we did not possess, as specimens of ancient brick architecture, many superior to that of Barsham Hall. Blomefield assigns its erection to the time of Henry VIII, but the authority I have quoted says, that from the style of the arches, ornaments, and armorial bearings still offered to our view, the greater part must be considered as of a date anterior to that period, and of the reign of Henry VII. The gate house, however, must be given to the time of Henry VIII.

"The tower entrance or porter's lodge is a fine specimen, and offers remains of Henry VII, with his armorial bearings, cognizance, etc., griffin and greyhound, and crown. The arch of the tower entrance will be seen to be not so pointed as that of the entrance porch. The group of ten chimneys must necessarily attract notice, composed of fine bricks, most of which were impressed in figured moulds. The south front, of which, as well as of the preceding parts, Britton has given us engravings in the second volume of his *Architectural Antiquities*, has a very imposing appearance, and presents many armorial bearings.

"Time has worked its usual decay, and much of this once most distinguished mansion has disappeared. It is now appropriated as a farm house, and there is a large barn formed of square stones, covered with various tracery of different patterns. It is, however, uncertain whether they have not been brought from Walsingham. In the *Norfolk Archaeology* (vol. ii, p. 406), it is stated, on the authority of Mr. Fitt, of Fakenham, that among the large fragments of carved stone inserted in the walls of the barn, there is one charged with the arms of England. The rev. Mr. Cubitt believed these carved stones to have been brought from an old hall at Houghton-le-Dale, which had been pulled down."

The party now returned to Norwich, and held a meeting at the Guildhall, where, after a short report upon the proceedings of the day, Mr. Goddard Johnson favoured the meeting with the following extracts from the corporation records, touching the city of Norwich, extracted from a folio MS. volume preserved among the archives at the Guildhall:

	£	s.	d.
A.D. 1547-8.—To John Felbrigge for the gret end of a tree w <sup>h</sup> a croche to set in the ground in the pryson vout with a cheyne fastyd to the same to tye mad pepyll to.			vij
To a carpenter for fastyng of a cheyne w <sup>h</sup> a stapyll to the sayd blocke			j
Payd for a pap' (paper) makyng for a man y <sup>t</sup> stode on the pyllery for petty larceny y <sup>e</sup> xxxj December 1548			j
To Rychard Stone for a cote of whyte paper for a fellow that had done petty larceny			ij
The xxix daye of April 1549 for a pap' made for a woman for whoredom			







	£	s.	d.
Item.—For a present govyn to the justyces of assise, the viij day of July, and fyrste to Mrs. Trase for ij ells of fyne worsted . . . . .	xxvj	viiij	
For fyne spyce breade, ijs. viij <i>d.</i> ; claret wync, ij gallons, ijs. viij <i>d.</i> . . . . .	v	iiij	
Item.—P <sup>d</sup> the ffyrste day of July, for manchetts, j <i>d.</i> ; spyce brede, iij <i>d.</i> ; old appels, iiij <i>d.</i> . . . . .		viiij	
Claret wyne, viij <i>d.</i> ; sacke, iiij <i>d.</i> ; and bere, xiiij <i>d.</i> ; for s <sup>r</sup> Roger Townsend, s <sup>r</sup> William Paston, mr. mayer, and other comyssoners syttyng all that daye at the comon halle, on the valuacon of the antycypacon . . . . .	ij	iiij	
Item.—Gaf in reward to a pursevant y <sup>t</sup> brought a p <sup>r</sup> clamacon under the kyng's seal, the viij daye of October, to put Frenchmen at liberty, to dwell pesably w <sup>h</sup> in thys realm, thow y <sup>e</sup> l be no denysons, notwithstanding any other proclaymacon made to the contrary . . . . .	v		
Item.—Gaf in reward, the xj day of January, to my lord of Sussex's players, bycause mr. mayor & hys brethern war at no leyser to se them play; and, also, the comon halle at the time was occupied <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	v		
Item.—P <sup>d</sup> for the costes of a man and horse, and hys paynes rydyng to s <sup>r</sup> Jamys Bullens (probably <i>Bolleyns</i> ), w <sup>t</sup> letters trying ageyn a certyficat concernyng one Thykyll, of Lynne, for <i>money making</i> . . . . .		xx	
Item.—To Thomas Browne, jayler of the castyll, for that he took charge to carry Ryxe of Deram (Dereham), the p <sup>r</sup> moter, to Thetford assize . . . . .	iiij	iiij	
Item.—P <sup>d</sup> for byrche bromys to make clene y <sup>e</sup> streets and lanes, agaynst the Gaudays (days in Rogation week,—time of going the parish boundary). . . . .		j	
Item.—To Mr. Dodom Kyng, prechyng at y <sup>e</sup> comon halle, Monday and Tewsday in <i>Gangeweke</i> . . . . .	vj	viiij	
Item.—P <sup>d</sup> at Berry, the xv day of Aprill (1544), in the tyme of thys accompt, to Mr. John Eyre, receyvor to the kyng's mageste, for the led of the church, chancel, stepyll, and ij yles of the comon halle, surveyed and valowed in the last accompt, xxxvij fudder after iiij <sup>th</sup> . every fudder . . . . .			clij
Item.—For the hyer of iiij horses for y <sup>e</sup> accomptant, and for other ij men appoynted to ryde w <sup>t</sup> hym for savegarde of the sayd money, beyng for iiij dayes, at xv <i>d.</i> the day . . . . .			iiij

<sup>1</sup> Entries of rewards given to noblemen's players are of frequent occurrence in the chamberlain's accounts.

	£	s.	d.
Item.—To Robert Barnard, jayler, rydyng w <sup>t</sup> the sayd accomptant, appoynted by mr. mayer and the cownsell of the cite, for hys paynes . . . . .	iiij	iiij	
To John West rydyng w <sup>t</sup> them, by the sayd appoyntment to keep ther horses . . . . .			xviiij
For the costes of them iiij, and ther horses . . . . .	ix	x	
Item.—Lost in iiij very base French crowns, that were paid to the sayd Mr. Eyre . . . . .	ij		
Lost in xxxd. of <i>Dandy pratts</i> , <sup>2</sup> and dylvyn grots, sold for xxiijs. iiijd. . . . .	vj	viiij	
Item.—Lost in the sale of a very ylle sowdered crown, sold at Styrbrydge fayer . . . . .			xvj
Lost in xiiij clyppyd money & brok Englyshe coyne, whych was sold ther by the owner, at iijs. xjd. the ownce . . . . .	ij	iiij	
Item.—P <sup>d</sup> upon the Sonday before the Rogacon days, to ij laborers, and a bote, to gather a boteful of sedge to strowe the comon halle ij prechyng days . . . . .			xj
Item.—P <sup>d</sup> for a present govyn to my lady of Rychmond's grace comyng to Carrowe. And fyrste, for fyne hypocras, a gallon . . . . .			vj
A pottle w <sup>t</sup> fyne wafers, ijd.; spyce brede of John Mannys wife, xxd. . . . .			
Item (1544).—For a present govyn to syr Rychard Southwell, the xx day of March; and fyrst, p <sup>d</sup> in the m'kett, for a pycke, xviiijd.; a rostyng ele, ijs. vjd.; bakyng eles, xijd.; red wyne, a gallon, xvjd.; Rhenyshe wyne, a gallon, xxd.; for fyllyng up the ij bottles, iiijd. . . . .	viiij	iiij	
Item.—For ij gallon bottles, xvjd.; two gyrdles for them, ijd.; for a man and hys horse, rydyng to Seynt Faythes, w <sup>t</sup> the accomptant, viiijd.; an horse for the accomptant, and horse-brede, vjd. . . . .	ij	viiij	
Item.—For a present govyn to my lord of Surrey, the Tewesday after Palm Sonday, at <i>Leonards</i> ; and fyrste, for a pycke . . . . .	ij	viiij	
For a rostyng ele, xxd.; ij gallons of wyne, red and claret, ijs. viiijd.; a jolle of sturgeon ready watered and soden, iiijd. (4s.) . . . . .	viiij	iiij	
Item.—For a present govyn to my lord of Norff. hys grace comyng ageyn to the cite, the xxviiij daye of Maye, for the lovyng contrybucon. And fyrste, p <sup>d</sup> for a pycke, ijd.; a rostyng ele, xxd.; iiij gret perchys, ijs. viiijd.; iiij gret tenchys, xviiijd.; a lamprey, xd. . . . .	viiij	viiij	

<sup>1</sup> These "dandy pratts" were a very small coin (time of Henry VIII), and are not known now to any numismatists.

Item.—Brede, bere, and wyne, at the Guyldhalle, to my lord's grace ther . . . . .	℥	s.	d.
			vij
Item.—P <sup>d</sup> for a gallon of claret wyne sent to s <sup>r</sup> Nicholas Hare, beyng at dyn <sup>r</sup> at Mr. Knyghte's, on Mary Magdalen evyn . . . . .			xvj
Item.—For a present govyn to the justyceys of assyse, the iiij daye of August; and fyrste, for ij gallons of hypocras, xiijs. iiij <i>d</i> .; claret wyne, a gallon, xv <i>d</i> .; ij pottes w <sup>t</sup> wafers, ijs. viij <i>d</i> .; spyce brede, ij <i>d</i> . . . . .	xx		iiij
Item.—To Mrs. Tasburgh for an elle of fyne worsted, govyn to my lord Montague . . . . .	xiiij		iiij
Item.—Gaffe in reward to Mr. Ffechew, clarke of the crowne, a pece of goold, of . . . . .	x		
Item.—P <sup>d</sup> for the chargis of a triumph, made on Trynyty Sondag, for the peace concludyd betwene Ingland and France. And fyrste, for astyll (which we now name round wood, and not split into billets) . . . . .			iiij
Item.—For j q <sup>r</sup> of ffagots w <sup>h</sup> the astyll & wood was made ij fyres in the m'kett . . . . .			xiiij
Item.—Gaf to John Revell, toward a fyer made at Tomlond, ijs. ij <i>d</i> .; and for the paynes of certen laborers, y <sup>t</sup> gathered astyll wood of all the inhabytants, xv <i>d</i> . . . . .		iiij	vj
Item.—For iiij barrells of dobyll bere, drank at mr. mayer's gate, Tomlond, and m'kett-place . . . . .	xj		
Item.—For brede at Tomlond, m'kett-place, and gunners at the Guyldhall . . . . .	ij		iiij
Item.—To Thomas Warlowe and Andrew Spencer, for ther paynes shotyng xx <sup>ti</sup> chambyrs and other peeces, at Tomlond, and the m'kett-place . . . . .			xij
Item.—To them & ther company, & the hand gonnes at Tomlond, for mete & drynke . . . . .			xiiij
Item.—P <sup>d</sup> for xij <sup>lbs</sup> of cornpowder, shote, the xxx <sup>ti</sup> hand gonnes, and half haks upon the clocher & stepyll, over and above xxx <sup>lbs</sup> of serpentyne, powder, dd out of Guyldhall . . . . .	xij		
Item.—Matche vj rolls and browne p'ap (paper) . . . . .			xij
Item.—To dyv's laborers abought the fyres, gettingyng in bere & brede from dyv's places, w <sup>t</sup> caryng and recaryng of chambyrs w <sup>t</sup> much turmoylyng that day, for ther paynes . . . . .	ij		ij
Item.—To iiij mynstrells at Christe's church gate, on same occasion . . . . .			xij
Item.—To Nycholas Tuttell, for iiij dayes worke, setting			

	£	s.	d.
up the rayles in the castyll dyche for the wrostlyng- place, & reysyng the bothe, & tyltyng the same . . . . .		ij	ij
Item.—For grene ryshys, iij <i>d</i> ., for sedge, iiij <i>d</i> ., to strowe the bothe & wrostly place . . . . .			vij
Item.—To Rychard Worts, for dyggyng up a gret quan- tity of homloks, nettles, thystylls, docks of the hylls, and betwyxt the butts . . . . .			iiij
Item.—The x day of Aprell, for makyng of a p'ap to set upon a cutpurses hede . . . . .			j
Item.—To John Gybbys, for wrytyng of a certyfycate of the nombyr of all the pepyll w <sup>h</sup> in the cite, dd (deliv- ered) to the kyng's counsell by Mr. Corbett . . . . .		ij	
Item.—To Mr. Austen Steward, mayer, for lycens ob- teyned by my lord of Norff. for byeng worffwools . . . . .		iiij	
Item.—The xxx daye of Maye, to Mr. Catlyng, for a ffca, for the newe establyshyng of the statute for worsted yarne, y <sup>e</sup> last p'lement, an angel nobyll, pryce . . . . .		viiij	
Item.—Gaf in reward to Debney, a pursevant, who brought a p'clamacon, concernyng the stewes and harlots to be voyded out of y <sup>e</sup> cite, by a day therin lymyed . . . . .		iiij	iiij
Item.—For the hyer of a horse for the accomptant, rydyng on Crowchmas day, erly in the mornyng, to Bastwick, to Mr. Corbeck's, and from thense to the byshoppe, to Ludd'm, and to Seynt Bennett's, concernyng a pry- soner in the byshopp's pryson, that poysened hymself, vj <i>d</i> .; for hys mete y <sup>e</sup> nyghts before, iij <i>d</i> .; for hys mete, at Ludd'm, j <i>d</i> .; to a ferryman, at Hornyng, for Mr. Corbett's horses, and the accomptant's, iiij <i>d</i> . . . . .			xiiij
Item.—P <sup>d</sup> for de ffryers, peers, sent to my lord byshoppe of Norwyche . . . . .			xiiij
Item.—On Mychelmas evyn, for a pynte of Malmsey, brent w <sup>h</sup> clows & sugar, for Mast <sup>r</sup> Corbet beyng seke at the sessyons . . . . .			iiij ob.
Item (Guilds of various companies).—Of the bocher's of- feryngs, nothyng, for they kept no guylde Of the ffyshmongers, nothyng, for they kept no guylde Of the reders and watermen, they kept no guylde The barbers kept no guylde, or dyd the carpenters The goldsmyths and ther company kept no guylde The worsted weavers, they kept no guylde, but p <sup>d</sup> for a certen . . . . .			v
The inkeepers and typlers, nothyng Of the hatmakers and of the tanners, nothyng.			



Item.—P <sup>d</sup> to Nycholas Tuttell, for oon daye's work mending the doors, fourmes and desks, in the chap- pell, which war broken by vyolence of the pepyll at an interlude, on the Sondaye after twelfth . . . . .	£	s.	d.
			vjob
Item.—To Rob <sup>t</sup> Ffenne, for mendyng of a vestment of blew bawdkyn, & an other of grene velvet, w <sup>t</sup> y <sup>e</sup> albys, stoles, & fannos, w <sup>t</sup> all charges . . . . .			ij
Wose brycke. Fyve hundred for gutters, jakes, and yssews ther . . . . .			ij    iiij
Item.—To ij laborers and a bote hyer, to gather a botefull of sedge to strowe the halle and yarde, the ij ffyrste Rogacon days . . . . .			vij
Item.—P <sup>d</sup> the morrowe afr twelfth, for the chargis of a post rydyng to London w <sup>t</sup> letters from my lord Mon- tagne & others of the kyng's counsell, then beyng here in the cite, concernyng the duke of Norff. . . . .			vij    vj

## SATURDAY, AUGUST 29.

This formed the concluding day of the Congress, and was entirely devoted to Ely, it being found inconvenient to embrace Thetford, as originally proposed. The Association assembled on the green in front of the cathedral, at two o'clock, when Mr. C. E. Davis commenced his description, historical and architectural, conducting the party into and over every part of the building. At four o'clock, the members and visitors attended service; after which, the conventual buildings, deanery, etc., were visited; and upon the conclusion of this examination,—an account of which Mr. Davis has drawn out, will be printed in a future *Journal*,—

A meeting to conclude the proceedings, was held in the library of the cathedral, T. J. Pettigrew, esq., vice-president, in the chair.

The thanks of the Association were voted to the patrons, president, vice-presidents, and officers; to the deans and chapters of Norwich and Ely; to the mayors and corporations of Norwich, Lynn, and Yarmouth; to sir John Peter Boileau, bart., president of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society; to the rev. H. D. Lee Warner, Charles J. Palmer, esq., Hudson Gurney, esq., for particular attentions and hospitable reception of the Association; to the general and local secretaries, and to the chairman for "the tact, kindness, and urbanity, he had displayed in conducting the business of the week."

Thus terminated a most agreeable, and it is also presumed a most useful Congress. Many offers of kindness were made, which it was not in the power of the Association to accept; the members, as far as possible, however, availed themselves of the opportunities afforded them to carry out the purposes of the meeting; and it would be unjust not to

particularize the assistance of Mr. Fitch, who, throughout the meeting, devoted so much time and attention to its prosperity, and the comfort of the Association. Mr. Fitch's collection is remarkable for the number of specimens of seals, found in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk,—many ecclesiastical ones, of much interest; also rings in gold, silver and bronze; a great variety of decade rings, and some fine Roman ones with intaglios. The Celtic specimens of various kinds are excellent, and the localities in which they have been found uniformly stated. They are of flint, stone, and bronze. Roman and Saxon fibula are in great variety, also mediæval badges. Many deserve to be engraved. There is scarcely a place in Norfolk or Suffolk, from which antiquities have not been obtained. At Norwich castle, a fine seal of Gilebert de Hulcote, found in 1821. At Caister, a sculptured head, in stone, of Diana; and also, a remarkably fine bronze head of the same goddess, which has been engraved in the *Norfolk Archæology*. One of the most interesting and valuable articles of its kind, in Mr. Fitch's cabinet, consists of a *gold niello reliquary*, which has been well engraved in the same journal. It was found at Matlask, and represents the crucified Saviour, not attended by the Virgin, the Mater Dolorosa, standing, as usual, on one side of the cross, and the evangelist, the beloved disciple, on the other; but, in their places, a mitred bishop, holding his pastoral crook, but with no attribute by which he may be otherwise designated; and the baptist pointing with his right hand to the lamb, the Agnus Dei, who is recumbent on a book, held in his left. Around the figures, in beautiful execution, are flowers and foliage. The rev. Dr. Husenbeth has conjectured the bishop represented, to be St. Nicholas, as when a bishop stands without an emblem, it is generally he who is meant; and he further conjectures that, as St. Nicholas was the patron saint of mariners, as well as of children, he would be thus appropriately placed for the wearers of the reliquary. Mr. Fitch is disposed to attribute the workmanship of this interesting relic to Græco-Byzantine art, and to have been executed in Russia, but Dr. Husenbeth contends that the relics of the bishop are of the eastern, not the western church. The subject of niellos is one deserving of further consideration, and we refer our readers to Mr. Fitch's paper in the *Norfolk Archæology* (vol. iii, p. 97), for information on the subject.

We cannot but express a hope, that we shall be enabled to lay some of Mr. Fitch's treasures before our readers, and take this opportunity of recording our thanks to Mr. Fitch for his liberality on this occasion.

## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

APRIL 14.

JAMES HEYWOOD, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE auditors submitted their report of the treasurer's accounts, accompanied by the annexed balance sheet and explanatory papers :

"We, the auditors of the British Archæological Association, appointed at the General Meeting in 1857, to examine the accounts of the treasurer, do hereby report that we have diligently performed that duty, and have now the gratification of submitting to the General Meeting the accompanying balance sheet and explanatory papers.

"From these documents it will be seen that there has been received, during the past year, the sum of £605:10:6, and expended £590:15:11, leaving thus a balance of £14:14:7 in favour of the Association.

"Small as this amount may appear to be, it is, nevertheless, highly satisfactory, inasmuch as it exhibits the prosperity of the Association and the confidence of its members, whilst at the same time the *Journal* has been upheld in equal, if not even superior, illustration to any volumes that have been issued by the Association during any period of its existence.

"By the liberality of many friends, as will be seen by the list annexed, the recommendation of the General Meeting of 1857 has been most readily responded to, and the debt of £206:2:5, long due to the treasurer, thereby liquidated. The Association is now entirely free of debt, and there are no claims whatever against it, at the present moment, undischarged. This must be admitted to be a prosperous state of affairs; and it is but just to acknowledge that it is mainly attributable to the treasurer, whose unwearied exertions in behalf of the Association demand the best thanks of the members.

"We have the pleasure to record that, during the past year, forty-seven new associates have been elected, and eleven have withdrawn. We have, however, had the misfortune to lose by death ten associates, highly distinguished members of our body; yet the society will, by this statement, be shown to have increased twenty-six in number upon the year.

"We desire to take this opportunity of suggesting to the members at  
1858



large, that continued exertions will be necessary to sustain the Association in its present prosperous condition, and to maintain the *Journal* as now published. It would, perhaps, be unreasonable to expect so large an amount of donations in aid of our objects in any future year; yet we would hint to those associates who have not hitherto subscribed to the Illustration Fund, the necessity which exists for their doing so; and we would particularly call the attention of the members in general to the advantage of strengthening the Association by obtaining additions to the present list of associates, in which all have an interest, thereby enabling the council to carry on with comfort the objects which have been so ably pursued.

"We regret that there should have arisen a necessity on the part of the council to propose the removal from the list of associates of the names of nine members, on account of defalcation in the payment of their subscriptions. We, however, having examined these names, submitted to us by the treasurer, cannot but approve the determination of the council, and sanction the erasure of those names from the list. To retain non-effective members necessarily leads to false expectations, and tends to induce an expenditure which afterwards may be found not to be justified by the receipts.

"We cannot conclude our report without expressing our satisfaction at the manner in which the accounts of the society are kept, and acknowledging the economy and care with which its expenditure is conducted."

C. H. LUXMOORE, F.S.A. } *Auditors.*  
J. G. PATRICK.

12th April, 1858.

#### DONATION FUND, 1857.

Hudson Gurney, esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.	additional	21	0	0
Benjamin Bond Cabbell, esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.	ditto	10	10	0
J. Gilbert French, esq.	ditto	10	0	0
J. R. Planché, esq.	ditto	5	0	0
Thos. Bateman, esq.		5	0	0
Rev. James Bulwer, M.A.		5	0	0
J. R. Jobbins, esq.	additional	3	0	0
S. R. Solly, esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.	ditto	3	3	0
R. Brooke, esq., F.S.A.		2	0	0
Rev. Henry Blane, M.A.		2	0	0
C. H. Luxmoore, esq., F.S.A.		2	2	0
Henry Syer Cuming, esq.	additional	1	1	0
T. W. King, esq., F.S.A., York Herald		1	1	0
Dr. Kendrick		1	1	0
William Yewd, esq.	additional	1	0	0

£72 18 0



1857. RECEIPTS.

£ s. d.

Annual and life subscriptions . . . . .  
Donations, as per list, contributed to the fund for  
illustration of the *Journal* . . . . .  
Donations in plates and woodcuts for ditto:—  
*Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History*  
*Society*:—Plate of the nave of Martock church.  
*Society of Antiquaries*:—Woodcut of sculptured  
head on tympanum at Bath.  
*Rev. Dr. Nicholson*:—Seven woodcuts of the seals  
of the abbot of St. Alban's, and ancient doorway  
at the same.

*James James, esq., F.S.A.*:—Six plates and nine  
separate woodcuts, to illustrate his paper on  
"Early Rowel Spurs."

*Dr. John Lee, F.R.S., F.S.A.*:—Plate illustrative  
of Mr. Pettigrew's paper on "Egyptian Glass."  
*J. Gilbert French, esq.*:—Various woodcuts in addi-  
tion to donation of £10, to illustrate his paper on  
the "Bayeux Tapestry Banners and the earliest  
Heraldic Charges."

Life contributions from twenty annual subscribers, to  
discharge the debt due by the Association to the  
treasurer . . . . .

Sale of publications . . . . .

Balance due from the Norwich Congress . . . . .

£605 10 6

590 15 11

Balance in favour of the Association . . £14 14 7

C. H. LUXMOORE, F.S.A. }  
J. G. PATRICK. } *Auditors.*

April 12, 1858.

1857.

PAYMENTS.

£ s. d.

Printing and publishing *Journal* for the year . . .  
Binding of vol. xii. . . . .  
Illustrations of the *Journal* . . . . .  
Miscellaneous printing . . . . .  
Rent of rooms for public meetings . . . . .  
Delivery of the journals . . . . .  
Postage, advertisements, notices, and commission . .  
Stationery and books . . . . .  
Petty expenses, gratuities, carriage of antiquities, etc.  
Debt due to the treasurer at the audit of 1856 . . .

£590 15 11

C. H. LUXMOORE, F.S.A. }  
J. G. PATRICK. } *Auditors.*

April 12, 1858.

*Life Subscriptions to relieve the Debt of the Association to the Treasurer, in accordance with a Resolution at the Annual Meeting of 1857, from,*

George Ade, esq.  
Charles Ainslie, esq.  
John Alger, esq.  
John Barrow, esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.  
Charles Curle, esq.  
C. A. Elliott, esq.  
W. Euing, esq.  
W. H. Forman, esq.  
N. Gould, esq., F.S.A.  
J. O. Halliwell, esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.

Walter Hawkins, esq., F.S.A.  
George Vere Irving, esq.  
John Lee, LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.  
W. Calder Marshall, esq., R.A.  
Major J. A. Moore, F.R.S.  
J. R. Planché, esq.  
Thos. Richards, esq.  
Edward Roberts, esq.  
George R. Wright, esq., F.S.A.  
Alexander Zanzi, esq.

*Elections, 1857 :*

Jacob F. Y. Mogg, esq.  
W. Eardley Amiel, esq., R.N.  
C. E. Jenkins, esq., K.M.  
E. Gould Bradley, esq.  
John S. Storr, esq.  
Henry Rodwell, esq.  
Harry Wilmot Buxton, esq.  
W. Henry Forman, esq.  
The Lord Bateman  
Lady Cooper  
The Earl of Albemarle, F.S.A.  
Mrs. Kerr  
Robert Temple, esq.  
John E. Richard, esq.  
Henry Holl, esq.  
W. E. Allen, esq.  
C. Richardson, esq.  
W. George Carter, esq., F.S.A.  
Henry Wotton, esq.  
The Earl of Scarborough  
Rev. R. H. Poole, M.A.  
Mrs. Bellamy  
Rev. John R. T. Eaton  
Henry Scaife, esq., R.N.

George Berry, esq.  
Frederick Webb Pettigrew, esq.  
Henry Kerl, esq.  
Thomas Woolley, esq.  
John Henry Gurney, esq., M.P.  
Sir Edward North Buxton, bart., M.P.  
William Aldam, esq.  
Harrington Tuke, M.D.  
Robert Fitch, esq.  
Rev. James Bulwer, M.A.  
W. A. T. Amherst, esq.  
W. Scott Henderson, esq.  
Sir Henry Stracey, bart.  
Sir W. J. H. Browne Ffolkes, bart.,  
F.R.S., F.S.A.  
A. A. H. Beckwith, esq.  
F. G. West, esq.  
Rev. Hinds Howell  
Abraham Gourlay, esq.  
Charles John Palmer, esq., F.S.A.  
L. S. Bidwell, esq., F.S.A.  
Rev. John Gunn, M.A.  
Lieut-gen. sir Robt. John Harvey, C.B.  
Robert Canning, esq.

*Withdrawn, 1857 :*

Edward Porter, esq.  
John Brent, jun., esq.  
J. J. Butterworth, esq., F.S.A.  
W. Wills, esq.  
John Harland, esq.  
John W. Bridges, esq.

J. H. Le Keux, esq.  
Charles Bishop, esq.  
J. R. Stebbing, esq.  
Richard Tress, esq.  
J. B. Collings, esq.

*Deceased, 1857 :*

The duke of Rutland, K.G.  
The earl of Ellesmere, K.G.  
The lord Thurlow  
Rev. Thos. Halford, M.A., F.S.A.  
Miss Anna Gurney  
Harry Criddle, esq.

Very rev. W. D. Conybeare, dean of  
Llandaff, M.A., F.R.S.  
Vice-admiral sir W. H. Dillon, K.C.H.  
Rev. E. D. Scott, M.A.  
Rear-admiral sir F. Beaufort, K.C.B.,  
F.R.S., M.R.I.A.

*To be erased for Non-Payment of Subscriptions :*

Edmund Braithwaite, M.D., Newport . . . . .	4 years.
Orlando Bridgman, Carlton Club . . . . .	7 ditto.
John Calvert, 189, Strand . . . . .	4 ditto.
Thomas Dillow, 24, Southampton-buildings . . . . .	4 ditto.
Robert Logan, Lincoln's Inn . . . . .	4 ditto.
William Rickards, Addison-road . . . . .	4 ditto.
Benjamin E. Spence, Rome . . . . .	5 ditto.
Thomas Williams . . . . .	4 ditto.
John Wood, Falcon-square . . . . .	4 ditto.

The thanks of the meeting were voted to the auditors for their very satisfactory report. Moved by Mr. G. R. Wright, and seconded by Mr. J. E. Allen. *Carried unanimously.*

The special thanks of the meeting were voted to T. J. Pettigrew, esq., the treasurer, for his unwearied attention to the interests of the Association. Moved by Mr. Black, and seconded by Mr. W. Calder Marshall, R.A. *Carried unanimously.*

The thanks of the meeting were voted to the officers and council for their services during the past year. Moved by Mr. Roberts, and seconded by Mr. C. Brent. *Carried unanimously.*

The thanks of the meeting were voted to the authors of papers and the contributors of exhibitions of antiquities at the public meetings during the past year. Moved by Mr. Alger, and seconded by Mr. Oliver. *Carried unanimously.*

The special thanks of the meeting were voted to the twenty annual subscribers who had contributed life subscriptions to discharge the debt long due to the treasurer. Moved by Mr. Horman Fisher, and seconded by Mr. H. Syer Cuming. *Carried unanimously.*

The special thanks of the meeting were voted to those members who had generously contributed to the donation fund for the illustration of the *Journal* during the past year. Moved by Mr. Cape, and seconded by Mr. Amiel.

Mr. Ade moved, and Mr. Black seconded, a motion to remove from the list of Associates the names submitted by the council with a recommendation to that effect. *Carried unanimously.*

A ballot was taken for officers and council for 1858-59, and Mr. Black and Mr. Cuming appointed scrutators. The following were returned as elected :

PRESIDENT.

THE MARQUIS OF AILESBURY.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

BENJ. BOND CABELL, F.R.S., F.S.A.	JAMES HEYWOOD, F.R.S., F.S.A.
SIR F. DWARRIS, F.R.S., F.S.A.	JOHN LEE, LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.
GEORGE GODWIN, F.R.S., F.S.A.	T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A.
NATHANIEL GOULD, F.S.A.	SIR J. G. WILKINSON, D.C.L., F.R.S.

## TREASURER.

T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A.

## SECRETARIES.

J. R. PLANCHÉ, *Rouge Croix*. | H. SYER CUMING.*Secretary for Foreign Correspondence*.—WILLIAM BEATTIE, M.D.*Palæographer*.—W. H. BLACK.*Curator and Librarian*.—GEORGE R. WRIGHT, F.S.A.*Draftsman*.—HENRY CLARKE PIDGEON.

## COUNCIL.

GEORGE G. ADAMS  
 GEORGE ADE  
 CHARLES AINSLIE  
 JOHN ALGER  
 JOHN BARROW, F.R.S., F.S.A.  
 JOHN BARTLETT  
 HENRY H. BURNELL  
 GEORGE AUGUSTUS CAPE  
 CHARLES CURLE

ROGER HORMAN-FISHER  
 GEORGE VERE IRVING  
 W. CALDER MARSHALL, R.A.  
 MAJOR J. A. MOORE, F.R.S.  
 LIONEL OLIVER  
 S. R. SOLLY, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.  
 ALFRED THOMPSON  
 ALBERT WOODS, F.S.A., *Lancaster Herald*.

## AUDITORS.

W. E. ALLEN

| THOS. JONES BARKER.

The thanks of the meeting were given to the scrutators.

The thanks of the meeting were also voted to the chairman for his services; and the treasurer read the following obituary notices for the year 1857, for which the thanks of the meeting were unanimously voted:

## Obituary for 1857.

The loss, by death, among the members of our Association during the past year, has been heavy and afflicting, removing, as it has, from our list ten associates, some of whom worked with us from the commencement of our institution, and were distinguished by high attainments and eminent position in society. That "death is no respecter of persons" is amply demonstrated to us on this occasion.

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF RUTLAND died at Belvoir Castle, Grantham, on the 20th of January 1857, at the age of seventy-eight years. John Henry Manners was the fifth duke and the fourteenth earl of Rutland. At the time of his decease he was the senior knight of the garter, lord lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the county of Leicester, a colonel of the Leicestershire militia, high steward of the university of Cambridge, of which also he was D.C.L.; the recorder of Scarborough and Grantham, a trustee of the British museum, and an active promoter, and one of the council, of the King's College, London. His descent and family honours are so fully recorded in the annals of the English peerage as to render any notice of them in this place superfluous. He succeeded to



his high estate at a very early period of life, being then only ten years of age. His education was conducted under the guardianship of Mr. Pitt and the duke of Beaufort, and he was placed at Eton under the tuition of the rev. E. Bowyer Sparke, afterwards the bishop of Ely; whence the young duke was removed to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took the degree of M.A. in 1797.

The length of his minority was productive of a large accumulation of property, and upon attaining his majority he found himself in possession of scarcely less than £100,000 *per annum* in landed estates, independent of other personal effects and money. Forty church livings were also in his gift. He married early the lady Elizabeth Howard, fifth daughter of Frederick earl of Carlisle, who died in 1825, and by whom he had a numerous family.

The duke rebuilt Belvoir Castle, which, however, was destroyed by fire in 1816; on which occasion sir Joshua Reynolds' celebrated picture of the "Nativity", together with other valuable gems of art, were lost to the princely owner and the country. The duke solaced himself under this affliction by various literary compositions, alike distinguished for their elegance and their superior embellishments, proceeding from the talented pencil of the duchess. Beloved by his tenants, and respected by all, esteemed for his courtesy, and distinguished by his benevolence, it is not surprising that many testimonials in acknowledgment of these happy qualifications should have been, at various times, afforded more immediately by those around him; and we find accordingly, that among other tokens of regard, a statue of him was made by subscription by his friends and acquaintances. It was the work of Mr. C. Davis, and was erected at Leicester by the magistracy, clergy, and gentry, to record the services of his grace as lord lieutenant of the county for a period of fifty years. It will be recollected by all who visited the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park in 1851. The figure was commanding, and the features particularly delicate and expressive; which, indeed, gave to the duke an appearance of youthfulness that continued to the end of his life. A portrait was also painted for his tenantry by Mr. Grant, R.A. It is an admirable likeness, and one of the best ornaments of the artist's pencil.

To advert, however, to the particulars of his grace's connexion with our Association, to which it is proper I should mainly restrict this notice, I must first remark that it arose from the communication of his grace, through our friend and curator, Mr. George R. Wright, of some rubbings taken from a sculptured boss in the centre of a vaulted chamber in the Stanton tower of Belvoir Castle; of which Mr. Planché, with his accustomed facility and elegance, has rendered an account in the sixth volume of the *Journal* (pp. 97-102), accompanied by appropriate illustrations. My friend, the late Mr. Francis Douce, had fruitlessly laboured to elucidate some difficulties relating to a monogram given in the centre

of this boss; but from comparison with a circular metal plate, fortunately laid before the Association at the same time with a cast of the boss, Mr. Planché was enabled to demonstrate it to represent, not the letter T, as had been conjectured, but a crowned M; and although this monogram is of frequent occurrence in ecclesiastical buildings, it is unusual in a wine-cellar, and may therefore be referred in this case, not to the Virgin Mary, but to the initial of the family name, MANNERS.

When the Association resolved to hold a Congress, in 1851, at Derby, the duke of Rutland immediately gave to the meeting his patronage; and the members who were present will not have forgotten the great kindness and condescension with which we were received by his grace in one of the most interesting edifices of early times now to be met with in this country—HADDON HALL.

Of Haddon Hall, a constant subject of the artist's skill from the period of its erection to the present day, an excellent historical and architectural account is given by Mr. Henry Duesbury, accompanied by an interesting plan (plate xxvii), in the seventh volume of our *Journal* (pp. 284-295), in which the dates assignable to the different parts of the building are distinctly specified, ranging from A.D. 1070 to 1624. In the course of the delivery of this paper, Mr. Duesbury made some conjectures in regard to various portions of the early work which remained, and which were subsequently satisfactorily elucidated by the kindness of the duke, who entrusted to my care some documents, one of which was the original grant from king John, then acting as regent for his brother, Richard Cœur de Lion, empowering sir Richard Vernon of Haddon to enclose his house and premises with a wall twelve feet in height, but without *loopholes*, that the wall might be merely protective, and not aggressive; and forbidding all people to hinder him in the said work. This, together with other equally important documents, have been printed by us, and may be seen in the *Journal* (vii, 296-298), under the able superintendence of Mr. W. H. Black.

The duke of Rutland joined us as an associate at this congress, and further extended to us the advantage of his countenance as one of the vice-presidents of the Newark Congress, under the efficient presidency of his grace the duke of Newcastle, in 1852.

THE EARL OF ELLESMERE. Another no less esteemed name appears on our obituary for February 17, 1857,—that of the earl of Ellesmere, who expired at Bridgwater House, at the early age of fifty-seven years. Francis Leveson Gower was the first earl of Ellesmere, of Ellesmere, Salop; viscount Brackley, of Brackley, Northampton; a knight of the most noble order of the Garter; lord lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the county palatine of Lancaster; lieutenant-colonel of the Lancashire yeomanry; a deputy lieutenant for the county of Sutherland; one of the

council of King's college, London; and a trustee of the National Gallery. Descended from the marquis of Stafford, his father (afterwards raised to the dukedom of Sutherland), it is not surprising that the late earl should have been distinguished by his taste for the fine arts. Of these, his education, added to natural gifts, rendered him a judicious patron; and his loss at the present time, when public attention is so strongly directed to the cultivation of sculpture and painting, must be looked upon as a public calamity. He was the possessor of one of the finest galleries of paintings in the country,—liberally exhibited to the public at Bridgwater House. Of art and science he was a munificent patron; and on one occasion he gave £500 to ensure the continuation of professor Agassiz's *Poissons Fossiles*, which was likely to be abandoned for want of means. He presented the drawings to the Geological Society.

The late earl of Ellesmere received his education at Eton, whence he removed to Christ Church, Oxon; in which university he graduated in 1821. His taste for, and devotion to, literature appeared at an early period; for before he had attained the age of twenty, he printed, for private distribution, some poems esteemed of promise, from their elegance and the display of taste. Later in life he translated Goethe's *Faust* and Schiller's *Wallenstein*, together with other productions of lyrical German poets. These were published, but afterwards withdrawn from general circulation. He also translated Schimmer's *Siege of Vienna*; and he published various other works,—Pindemonte's *Donna Charitea*, Beer's *Paria*, the *Ernani* of Victor Hugo, for Miss F. Kemble; *Henri Trois* of Dumas, etc. He appears to have been fond of adaptation and arrangement and translation, probably as literary exercises. Within the last month a collection of the earl of Ellesmere's writings has been brought together in a volume, consisting of essays contributed by him to the *Quarterly Review*.

In our department, that of archæology, we are under obligations for an useful work, printed in 1848, which he kindly presented to our library. It is entitled *Guide to Northern Archaeology*, by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries of Copenhagen, edited for the use of English readers. The introduction to this manual forms a condensed account of the Anglo-Saxons and their language, and the work itself displays the extent and importance of ancient northern literature. A cursory view of the monuments and antiquities of the north, renders us familiar with the peculiarities of the graves, mounds, and places of burial, and the various known species of objects in stone, pottery, metal, horn, etc., whether belonging to the heathen or Christian periods. These, together with the writings and inscriptions, are ably treated of and delineated. Numismatics, heraldic bearings, etc., also receive due attention in this publication. The connexion of the earl of Ellesmere with our



Association dates from the Congress held at Chester in 1849, at which time he joined us as an associate.

Geography largely occupied his attention, and he filled the office of president of the Royal Geographical Society in the year 1854-5, and delivered two annual addresses, which have been printed in the *Transactions* of that society (vols. xxiii and xxiv). In public life he was of liberal opinions, and he warmly supported the establishment of the university of London. He was, in the course of his parliamentary career, secretary for Ireland, and also secretary at war. Arts and literature, however, chiefly occupied his attention; and his attachment to, and regard for, those who have cultivated with success the paths of the latter, were gracefully shewn towards the memory of one of her sons by an act of devotion, in placing over the spot where Addison's remains lie entombed (in Henry VII's chapel), a marble tablet. Although a statue of this celebrated essayist is to be seen among the worthies of Poets' Corner, no memorial whatever served to denote to the spectator the spot where he was buried,—an omission worthily supplied by the earl of Ellesmere.

It remains only, in this short sketch, to remark that, in 1822, he married the granddaughter of the late duke of Portland, by whom he had a large family; and that he is succeeded in his title by George Granville Francis, viscount Brackley, born in 1823.

**LORD THURLOW.** Edward Thomas Hovell was the third of the title of baron Thurlow, and succeeded, upon the death of his father, in 1829. He was born in 1814, being the issue of lord Thurlow by his marriage with miss Mary Catherine Bolton, an actress of celebrity. His father was known in literature as the author of various poems, which had been severely reviewed in the *Edinburgh Review* by the late Thomas Moore. The surname of Hovell was assumed by the second lord in 1814, as a descendant, maternally, from Richard Hovell, esquire of the body to king Henry VI. Our late associate was one of the earliest of our subscribing members, taking an interest in the proceedings at Canterbury, the first Congress for the promotion of archæological research held in this country; and to which, in no trifling degree, is to be attributed the zeal now very generally entertained for antiquarian pursuits. He died at the early age of forty-three years, expiring at Herne Bay on the 2nd March, 1857.

**THE REV. THOMAS HALFORD, M.A. and F.S.A.,** died at Calverley park, Tunbridge Wells, at the age of sixty-nine, on the 21st of April 1857. He was of Jesus college, Cambridge, and graduated as B.A. in 1820, taking the degree of M.A. in 1823. He resided in Hanover-square, and occasionally attended our meetings; but he had preferment at Laleham in Middlesex, and at Outwell in Norfolk. He was a life member of



our Association, subscribing in 1847. He took no active part in our proceedings; but from a conversation I had with him on one occasion, he assured me of the great satisfaction he derived from the perusal of the *Journal*, looking forward to its arrival with as much anxiety as to that of the daily newspaper. He was a man of good taste, great cheerfulness, and had acquired no mean proficiency in classical knowledge.

ANNA GURNEY. I now proceed to record a loss the Association has sustained by the decease of one whose whole life was devoted to the cultivation of literature and science, and to the exercise of those qualities which tend to mitigate woe and distress under all its shapes and varieties. To improve the condition and advance the happiness of her fellow creatures was the constant aim of Miss Anna Gurney.

Having so recently conducted our researches in the county of Norfolk, our members cannot but have been made sensible of the loss society at large, and that county in particular, have sustained by the demise of this most excellent lady, of whose efforts in all that was laudable and praiseworthy, we were continually apprized throughout the Congress. Anna Gurney died on the 6th of June, at Keswick Hall, near Norwich, the residence of her brother, our distinguished associate, Hudson Gurney, esq. She had attained her sixty-second year; and it was my melancholy duty to witness her last moments, occurring after a short but severe illness. Within ten days of her decease she was communing with me as to the advantages that would arise were our *Journal* to embrace short abstracts or reports upon the discoveries made in archæology in various parts of the world; and she proffered to me her assistance in furtherance of this desirable object, by being willing to undertake the department of northern antiquities; for which task, by the extraordinary knowledge she possessed of the languages of this portion of the globe, she was pre-eminently qualified, as well as by her other attainments in relation to antiquities in general. Miss Anna Gurney specially deserves our notice and demands our regrets, as the first lady to join our Association. She entered (as indeed was her wont in regard to all useful objects to which her attention was directed) with zeal and animation into the purposes of our society, and generously contributed to our funds. She was of most active mind, maintaining an extensive correspondence, foreign and domestic, on religious and charitable objects, and devoting a large portion of her time to philological exercises and studies. At an early period (1819) she occupied herself in translating the *Saxon Chronicle*; and this she printed without her name, never courting publicity, but, on the contrary, striving to avoid the display of talents that might render her subject to the imputation of vanity or conceit. The rev. Dr. Ingram, who subsequently (1823) printed another translation of the *Chronicle*, in his preface (p. xvii) has truly remarked that "the honour of having

printed the first literal version of the Saxon annals was reserved for a learned LADY,—the Elstob of her age,—whose work was finished in the year 1819.” Miss Gurney’s work proceeded to a second edition, and is now exceedingly scarce.

Soon after her decease, a learned and excellent lady, Mrs. Sarah Austin, transmitted to the *Literary Gazette* (July 4) a slight notice, to record her opinion of the zeal and attainments of her friend, and to exhibit her exertions in the wide sphere of beneficence and usefulness in which she had moved. The brief notice to which I have referred was afterwards submitted to correction, and appeared in the *Gentleman’s Magazine* (August). It is there well remarked that “her character was her own, and developed by circumstances which, to women in general, would seem entirely incompatible with usefulness or happiness.” She had, when an infant, been rendered, through a paralytic affection, incapable of locomotion; but nature seems, in this case at least, to have made amends for the absence of this power by giving to the mind unusual vigour and zeal, and to such an extent that her tutor is reported to have complained that he could “not keep pace with her eager desire and rapid acquisition of knowledge”. She was acquainted with Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. The Teutonic languages were her delight; and she has on more than one occasion surprised me by reading to me from the periodicals of Danish and Swedish literature, translating as she proceeded without the slightest difficulty or hesitation. The last piece of intelligence she read to me was an account of tumuli from a Russian newspaper; and the last present—precious testimony of regard—I received from her was a work on the plague of Poros in 1837, printed at Athens, in modern Greek, and from the pen of Dr. Epitos, by whom it had been presented to Miss Gurney. This, together with another production in the same volume, in relation to the same subject, she had most carefully perused; and I treasure her observations upon the two works, which she had mastered with the utmost facility.

In addition to the translation of the *Saxon Chronicle*, and connected with the objects of our Association, it is necessary I should record her communications to the Society of Antiquaries, printed in the *Archæologia*. In 1846, Miss Gurney made known to the Society, through sir Henry Ellis, the discovery of a gold ornament near Mundesley in Norfolk. It consisted of an ancient cast from a gold coin of the emperor Mauricius, set in gold of rough workmanship, with a ring or loop for suspension, and ornamented with portions of red glass or stones let in in a double row, which bears the obverse of the coin so as to form a border to it. It was found on the beach, between Bacton and Mundesley, and has been given by Miss Gurney to the British Museum. It is presumed to belong to the sixth or seventh century.<sup>1</sup> In 1850, Miss Gurney com-

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. xxx, pp. 64-68, plate vii.

municated an interesting paper to the Society, "On the Lost City of Vineta, a submerged Phœnician city."<sup>1</sup>

With respect to the high and virtuous qualities which distinguished this lady, as recorded in the affectionate notice by her friend, to which I have referred, I can bear my testimony as to the truthfulness of the statement. That homage so gracefully offered to her memory was not, however, to her benevolence, great as that was, but was presented as an example of a life "marked at its very dawn by a calamity which seemed to rob it of everything which is valued by woman, and to stamp upon it an indelible gloom, yet filled to the brim with usefulness, activity, and happiness. She was cut off from all the elastic joys and graces of youth, from the admiration, the tenderness, and the passion, which peculiarly wait on woman; from the light pleasures of the world, or the deep happiness and honoured position of the wife and mother." Notwithstanding this remarkable condition, offering such apparently insurmountable obstacles to the acquisition of knowledge, and to the exercise of the active charities of life, it would perhaps be impossible to find any one whose animation was more displayed, whose cheerfulness was never absent, whose spirit was never tired, and whose only anxiety appeared to be to aid and assist, to the utmost extent of her power, in all that was calculated to improve the understanding and excite the kindest of affections. To avert the disasters of a maritime life, and to afford aid to the shipwrecked mariner, were among the objects of her constant attention. She had the apparatus of captain Manby placed on the coast, near to her residence (often the seat of accident), under her own superintendence, ready on any emergency to give succour to distress. The fishermen also received from her the best of advice and assistance; and no considerations of self were ever permitted to interfere with her exertions in the cause of suffering humanity. The weakness of her physical powers was overcome by her mental energy. She exhibited a most remarkable instance of the triumph of mind over the body. One of her delights was in the study of objects of natural history; and she would observe with great minuteness the instincts and habits of animals, tend them with uncommon assiduity, and impress upon all around lessons of gratitude and reverence. To instruct the ignorant, to reclaim the vicious, and to reward the virtuous, were, with Anna Gurney, the purposes of her most useful life. She had, in these labours of love and active beneficence, relatives and friends who warmly sympathized with and entered into her views, aided and encouraged her in all her undertakings, thereby rendering her one of the happiest of human beings.

THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF LLANDAFF. On the 12th of August

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.*, vol. xxxiv, pp. 410-412.

1857, at the age of seventy years, the very rev. W. Daniel Conybeare, M.A., F.R.S., dean of Llandaff, deceased at the house of his son, at Itchenstoke, near Portsmouth. Dean Conybeare is of a family illustrious by high mental endowments. Many of its members have been, and continue to be, distinguished ornaments of the Church of England. Our late associate was educated at Westminster school, whence he departed for Christ Church, Oxford, where he distinguished himself both in classics and mathematics, taking a first class in the former, and a second in the latter; when he had among his competitors Dr. Gilbert, now bishop of Chichester; the late sir Robert Peel, bart.; and archbishop Whateley.

Dean Conybeare was one of those who zealously laboured to form the Geological Society, and he contributed some exceedingly valuable papers in this branch of science to the *Transactions* of that society. Although geology may be regarded as archæology, it is not within the immediate sphere of our operations sufficiently to demand record in this place. Dean Conybeare's labours in this department have been referred to elsewhere with deserved credit and respect. It was upon occasion of our Congress, held at Chepstow in 1854, where, in the course of our excursions, we paid a visit to Llandaff, that the dean joined our Association, acted as a vice-president on the occasion, presided over us in the prebendal house adjoining Llandaff cathedral, listening with deep attention to the able discourse of Mr. E. A. Freeman,<sup>1</sup> and afterwards accompanying us over every part of that edifice, expatiating upon its characteristic beauties in a manner, and with an animation, that imparted delight to all around. On this occasion he did not confine his attention to us when under the roof of Llandaff cathedral. He accompanied us in all our peregrinations, and gave to us much useful information, at the same time that he elicited instruction from others. His elegant entertainment of the Association at the deanery deserves a record with due praise,—excellent without ostentation. It is not too much to say that a great amount of pleasure derived from this Congress was attributable, in a great measure, to the attention of the good dean; and he was himself so well pleased with the zeal of our hard-working members, that upon occasion of our visiting Somersetshire, in 1856, we again had the happiness of his attendance. Personally, I can never forget his kindness; and I now reflect with mingled sorrow and satisfaction upon a visit I paid, upon the termination of that Congress, to view Bristol cathedral and St. Mary Redcliffe. With these structures he was intimately acquainted; and no one could fail to reap instruction by accompanying him to an inspection of such sacred edifices. His zeal for the restoration of his own cathedral is beyond all praise. Its present improved state is mainly attributable to his unwearied exertions, and to the individual exercise of his noble munificence.

<sup>1</sup> See Journal, vol. x, p. 302 et seq.



VICE-ADMIRAL SIR W. HENRY DILLON, K.C.H. Among the deaths which have occurred during the past year is to be enumerated a dear connexion of my own, vice-admiral sir W. Henry Dillon. This took place at Monaco, in Piedmont, on the 8th of September last, after a long illness, to relieve which he had sought the benign climate of Italy. Sir W. Henry Dillon's career in the naval profession has been one of distinguished service. Entering it early in life, he lived to have reached the head of the list of vice-admirals of the red. He was descended from a distinguished family, being the son of sir John Talbot Dillon, a baron of the Holy Roman Empire, author of *Travels in Spain* and other works. Paternally he was descended from Logan Delome, or the Valiant, third son of O'Neill, monarch of Ireland; and through female descent from the house of Wingfield, being great grandson of sir Mervyn Wingfield, and the senior claimant to the barony of Scales.

The records of the Admiralty render information in regard to sir W. H. Dillon's numerous services in his country's cause; and it is here only due to mention one from the distinguished list, as it received deserved recognition from the Patriotic Fund at Lloyd's, which awarded to him a sword of the value of one hundred guineas as an acknowledgment of his gallant conduct. It was for a meritorious action fought in the sloop *Childers*, on the coast of Norway, in which he nobly contested with a Danish man of war brig, of sixty guns and two thousand men, for upwards of seven hours, and in which he received some severe but honourable wounds. By this action he was advanced to the rank of post captain; and in 1835 received from William IV the honour of knighthood, with nomination to the second class of the Hanoverian order.

In the cause of his country, in 1803, he had suffered from an unjust detention by the French, being taken and detained prisoner for four years, upon going with a flag of truce from lord Keith to the Dutch commodore Valterbach, at Helvoetsluys.

In the active duties of his profession, it will be readily conceived that he had not enjoyed many opportunities of cultivating literature, or attending to the general pursuits of science; but he had not been an inattentive observer of that which had come under his notice; and I possess a MS. of several volumes, 4to., detailing his experience, which contains much that is interesting and valuable. He took a warm interest in our proceedings, attending our first Congress at Canterbury in 1844, and most of the subsequent ones. His warmth of heart and agreeable manners must be remembered by many whom I now address.

HENRY CRIDDLE, ESQ., joined our Association in 1853, and frequently attended the meetings; but we have no production from his pen. He was of amiable and unpretending manners; and his loss, on the 18th of October last, at the age of fifty, will be much regretted.

THE REV. E. D. SCOTT, M.A., joined our Association at the Congress held in the Isle of Wight in 1855. He was of Oriel college, Oxford, taking the degree of M.A. in that university. He held the vicarage of Carisbrook; and to him we were indebted for facilities in the examination of his church, and access to the records, on the occasion of our visit to that highly interesting spot. He died on the 1st of December, at the age of fifty-eight years.

REAR-ADMIRAL SIR FRANCIS BEAUFORT, K.C.B., F.R.S. I close this melancholy and deeply regretted list with the notice of a distinguished naval officer who filled the important station of hydrographer to the Admiralty; whose tastes were in accordance with our own, and whose willingness to assist us on all occasions was manifested with the greatest cheerfulness. Sir Francis Beaufort lived to an advanced age, being at the time of his decease, on the 16th of December last, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. He may be said to have inherited his taste for geographical pursuits from his father, the rev. Dr. Beaufort, who constructed a map of Ireland, which, until the more recent survey by captain, afterwards general Colby, was considered as the best that had been made. Sir Francis entered the navy in 1787, was in lord Howe's celebrated action, and subsequently saw much service. In 1800 he was wounded in boarding the *San Josef*; and the consequence of this injury compelled him, for a time, to be inactive as regarded his profession. His activity of mind, however, led him to devote his attention to the establishment of a line of telegraphs from Dublin to Galway. He afterwards served in India and other parts of the world until 1811, when he was selected by the Admiralty to proceed on a survey to Karamania, where his zeal for antiquities was exhibited; but his progress was cut short by an attempted assassination by a fanatic and his followers. Upon his return to England he published an interesting volume, entitled *Caramania*. Returned to England, his time was fully occupied in arranging his surveys and other scientific labours connected with his profession. The talent he displayed gained for him the appointment of hydrographer to the Admiralty; and his labours to advance maritime discovery are too recent to need reference on my part to those I now address. He was a fellow of the Royal Society, of the Astronomical Society, the Geographical Society, the Royal Irish Academy, and many other institutions of great utility. He was one of our earliest associates, and upon the council for the years 1845, 1846, and 1847.

# THE JOURNAL

OF THE

## British Archaeological Association.

---

SEPTEMBER 1858.

---

### ON EARTHWORKS AND OTHER ANCIENT FORTIFICATIONS IN THE COUNTY OF NORFOLK, VISITED IN 1857.

BY GEORGE VERE IRVING, ESQ.

I HAD great pleasure in examining, during our recent Congress, the ancient fortifications of this district, more especially as this gratification was to a great extent unexpected. Being aware of the high character which the cultivation of this county has long and deservedly possessed, and knowing how much agricultural operations tend to the destruction of this class of antiquities, I was not prepared to meet with such interesting examples. In point of mere numbers, Norfolk is surpassed by many other districts, but its earthworks are remarkable for presenting us with well-defined examples of nearly all the principal types of fortification previous to the Norman conquest.

Of British entrenchments I have met with no examples, nor is this perhaps to be wondered at. The nature of the district would not lead us to expect instances of the stone forts of that people; while, on the other hand, it is probable that their earthworks were of so slight a character that they disappeared early under the ravages of the plough. As much error has existed on this point, and many camps have been ascribed to the British, which more recent researches show to have been constructed at a later date, I may pause for a moment to consider what are the only data in our possession for ascertaining the character of the early British entrench-

ments. These, apart from the evidence afforded by the discovery of British remains in close and undoubted connection with any earthwork, are few indeed, and consist entirely of the brief notices contained in the writings of the classic historians. This fact has been ably pointed out by Mr. Gurdon, in his *Essay on the Antiquity of the Castel of Norwich*, p. 13 ; but this learned gentleman falls into the strange error, still more strange in a Norfolk man, of limiting this evidence to the single account left us by Cæsar of the capital of Cassivelaunus. This description, and one which precedes it in the same author, must certainly be our guide when treating of the Cantii and other southern tribes, but it would appear that the system of fortification adopted by the other Septs varied in some respects from this type. Tacitus<sup>1</sup> has not only left us an account of the stone forts of the Silures on the west, but has furnished us with a description of the entrenchments of the Iceni on the east, the inhabitants of the district we are now considering. The latter passage is as follows :

“Quod primi Iceni abunere, valida gens, nec præliis contusi quia societatem nostram volentes adcesserant: hisque auctoribus circumjectæ nationes, *locum pugnæ delegere septum agresti aggere et aditu angusto ne pervius equite foret*. Ea munimenta dux Romanus quamquam sine robore legionum sociales copias ducebat, perrumpere adgreditur et distributis cohortibus turmas quoque peditum ad munia adcingit. Tunc dato signo perfringunt aggerem, *suisque claustris impeditos* turbant. Atque illi. Conscientia rebellionis, et *obseptis effugiis* multa et clara facinora fecère.”

The peculiar phraseology of this extract deserves particular attention, as is the case with Tacitus generally, owing to the great care with which that author selected each individual word and expression ; and, when so examined, it will be found most fully to corroborate the slight character which I have attributed to the earthworks of the pre-Roman Iceni. The phrase, *locum pugnæ delegere*, might, at first sight, seem to point to mere temporary fieldworks erected for the defences of the position of the army ; but the *suis claustris impeditos*, and the *obseptis effugiis*, clearly show that it was an enclosed fort with a single gate, and that the effect of the assailants having forced an entrance at this point was, that

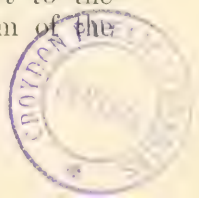
<sup>1</sup> Annal., lib. xii, c. 31-35.



the entrenchments on the other side became an obstacle to the escape of the defendants. Again, the use of the word *aggrēstis*, clearly conveys that the agger, or earthen-work, was of a slight character; while the terms, *septum* and *obseptis*, seem to point to a *hedge* as an important part of the fortification, probably replacing the *abattis* mentioned by Cæsar, and the existence of a hedge furnishes another proof that the entrenchment in question was not of a temporary nature. I have sometimes found, that it is objected to this definition of early British fortifications, that this nation erected earthworks of considerable magnitude for religious and other purposes, and, therefore, it is presumed that they knew how to employ them also in war; but this is a mere begging of the question. A nation may use earthworks for civil purposes, and at the same time their mode of warfare may be such that they do not consider it necessary to employ them as extensively for their fortifications, relying rather on natural features of the country, such as woods and morasses, in conjunction with artificial defences of a different character. On the other hand, if the Iceni and other Britons were possessed of such formidable earthwork citadels, how was it that they did not avail themselves of them in their contests with the Romans. Or, if they did, can we believe that the classic historians would so minutely describe the slighter form of fortification and preserve a total and unbroken silence as to these infinitely more serious obstacles.

There is, however, a camp at Narborough, which may possibly be of British origin, and an exception to the preceding remarks. It was not visited by the Association, but I have had, since the Congress, an opportunity of examining it under the kind and hospitable guidance of sir Thomas Beevor. Camden most erroneously describes it as situated on a high hill; while Gough's correction, in calling it "a lofty artificial hill," is equally faulty. Mr. Woodward's description<sup>1</sup> is, however, correct, or nearly so. It consists of a circular encampment, defended by a single rampart and ditch, about five hundred yards in circumference, with two gates, one on the south the other on the north-east. The interior area is level. The slope of the rampart to the interior measures eighteen feet, and to the bottom of the

<sup>1</sup> Archaeologia, vol. xxiii, pp. 358-373.



ditch, twenty-four. On the west side, both rampart and ditch, although they can still be traced, have been partially destroyed. For the reasons mentioned in my paper on the Cissbury camps,<sup>1</sup> the shape of this camp gives no evidence of its date, while that of discovered remains is also unfortunately absent. It certainly may be British, although the rampart is of larger dimensions than would be consistent with the description of Tacitus. On the other hand, I am not inclined to ascribe it to the Romans, because the county being flat and there being no peculiarity in the ground, I see no reason why they should here adopt the circular form in preference to the "*pulchriora quibus ultra latitudinis spatium tertia pars longitudinis additur*" of Vegetius. Narborough is, however, mentioned as a place of strength in Romano-British Times, in Brame's MS. *Hist. temp.* thirteenth century, in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and referred to in *Harrod's Castles and Convents of Norfolk*, *roce* Thetford. This authority is, certainly, not to be relied on; but it is possible that this fortification may have been erected during that period. For there can be no doubt, although we are too apt to overlook the fact, that many earthworks were erected by the inhabitants of this island between the expiration of the Roman power and the full establishment of the Saxon invaders. I have also been informed that a similar circular entrenchment is to be found in the vicinity of Wymondham, but I had not an opportunity of visiting it.

Mr. Harrod and other Norfolk antiquaries have ascribed the stupendous earthwork of Castle Rising, Norwich Castle, etc., to the British era, but as I presume to differ from these gentlemen, and to assign a much more recent date to their construction, I think it best to leave this matter to be discussed in a subsequent part of this paper, and to pass at once to the period of Roman occupation.

It has been usual to treat the Roman period as one individual whole, but this I believe to be an error which has led to much confusion. The Romans occupied the country under several conditions, each of which necessitated, by its own requirements, a different class of fortification.

1. They first appeared as an invading army in a hostile country, fortifying, as was their custom, their successive en-

<sup>1</sup> Journal for 1857, vol. xiii, p. 274.

campments from day to day. The entrenchments of this period were invariably earthworks, their sites always skillfully chosen, but determined by the exigencies of the campaign, and varying in strength according to the longer or shorter time they were occupied. Taesburgh presents us with a well-marked example of this kind, situated on a brow commanding the passage of the river; its form, which approaches the quadrangular, seems determined by the natural features of the ground. It is of large size, embracing an area of about twenty-four acres, defended by a single fortification, assuming in some places the form of an agger and foss, in others that of a simple encampment. It has two gates nearly opposite each other, the one leading to the river, the other in the direction of Caistor and Norwich. Although, from the strength of its fortifications, it must have been occupied for some time, its distance from a supply of water, none being obtainable nearer than the river, sufficiently marks its temporary character. Another camp of this type is found at Ovington, defended by a single rampart and a ditch thirty-feet wide, both of which have been much injured in many places, and on one side entirely obliterated. Its form appears to have been an irregular pentagon, enclosing an area of about seventeen acres. There is a gate in the centre of the north side, but the vestiges of the others, including one near the north-west corner, are much confused by agricultural operations.

2. As the Roman occupation became established, they secured their conquest by the erection of *præsidia*, or *castella*. These are of smaller size than the expeditionary camps, but are much more elaborately fortified either by a series of earthworks or by stone walls. Of the latter type, the Association had the gratification of seeing a most interesting example at Burgh. This fortress has been so well described by Mr. Harrod,<sup>1</sup> that it would be presumption in me to do more than advert to a single point, which led to some discussion during the meeting;—viz., the nature of the wall, discovered by that gentleman in the flat on the west side. It appears to me that from the features of the ground, this could not have been of the same character as those still remaining on the other three sides, but must have been built as a quay, or face wall, to the river. In this, I

<sup>1</sup> See Norfolk Archaeology.

am confirmed by the information received from the farmer, that he recollects the Waveny flowing on this side of the plain near the site of the wall. Our esteemed associate Mr. Davis has also pointed out to me, that the discovery made by Mr. Harrod of a *mortar bed*, also corroborates this idea. The existing walls, he observes, are grouted, for which such a bed would not be required; while, on the other hand, grouting would not be applicable to a wall washed by the water, and, therefore, it became necessary at this point. This difference in the construction of the walls, also accounts for the extent to which that on the west has disappeared, and also explains the use of piles. Again, the river washing such a wall would supply the fortress with water, in which it otherwise would be deficient. I may add, that I am inclined to conjecture, that the holes in the tops of the towers were formed to receive pivots, on which catapults and other warlike machines might be turned round, so as to alter the direction of their discharge.

I cannot entertain the smallest doubt that this is the *Gariannonum* of the Notitiæ, the station of 300 Stablesian horse. It has, indeed, been objected by Suckling and others, that the situation is one remarkably unsuited for cavalry. If this is founded on the features of the site itself, I can only say that I have never seen a more beautiful parade ground for a regiment of horse than the field on the east of the fortification; if, on the other hand, it is based on the surrounding district being cut up with streams, I would reply that the light armed auxiliary cavalry was much better fitted to act in such a country than the heavy infantry of the legions.

In conclusion, I may mention that Suckling<sup>1</sup> gives at the end of an article on Lowestoffe a vignette engraving of an eagle said to have been found at Burgh in 1822, but without any particulars or dimensions. Can any one tell us what has become of this most precious relique?

In connection with the camps of the above types, we find in some districts a number of smaller entrenchments, sometimes of the character of outposts to the larger encampments, sometimes as defences of the line of road between these most important stations. Of these, I have seen no examples in Norfolk. I am aware, however, that Mr. Harrod has referred to this class the earthwork which was occupied by

<sup>1</sup> Hist. of Suffolk, vol. ii, p. 114.



the castle of Old Buckenham, destroyed to make way for the Priory at the same place. The rectangular form of this earthwork certainly supports this idea. My inspection of it was so hurried, and conducted under such adverse atmospheric influences, that I am unwilling to give a positive opinion on the subject, but it struck me that the site was not one where *à priori* we should expect to meet with a post of this kind, and that it was in no way connected either with a larger camp or with any known road. I am also inclined to attach much weight to the fact of there only being one gate. The Romans were well aware of the disadvantages of such an arrangement, and the danger it entailed, as exemplified by their contest with the Iceni above referred to. I am, indeed, acquainted with many instances of Roman camps with only *one* gate, but in all that I have ever seen this can be explained by the features of the ground, and there is nothing of this nature at Buckenham. I should, therefore, with all submission, suggest that this earthwork did not belong to the Roman period, but that it ought more properly to be included in the later series of earthworks to which I shall afterwards more particularly refer.

3. As the country became more settled, towns sprung up, which were occupied in some cases by a mixed military and civil population, and in others by the latter class alone. In all cases, however, they were on their first establishment defended either by earthen ramparts or stone walls even where they had no military garrison. From the burden of watch and ward thus imposed, the name *Municipes* is derived by Varro.<sup>1</sup> "*Municipes qui una munus fungi debent.*" The word *munus* is here used in a sense different from its more common one of a "gift", which he defines as "*Alterum munus quod muniendi causa imperatum.*" It would rather appear that where these towns were situated in the interior, the inhabitants contented themselves with strong earthworks, and that stone walls were resorted to when, in consequence of their vicinity to the seas, they were exposed to piratical attacks.<sup>2</sup> In process of time, and as the country became still more peaceful, the inhabitants of these towns built houses beyond the walls, which gradually assumed the form of suburbs.

<sup>1</sup> De Ling. Lat., lib. v, c. 42.

<sup>2</sup> An interesting discussion on this point will be found in the *Proceedings* of the Gloucester Congress of the Association.

Of the walled variety of these towns the Association has exhibited to them a most perfect specimen at Caistor, near Norwich. As this most interesting fortification has been most ably and fully described by our esteemed friend and valued associate, Mr. Fitch,<sup>1</sup> I shall confine my remarks to one or two points. There can be no doubt of the great importance of this place in Roman times. It is certainly referred to in the Antonine *Iters* and *Ravennas*, as bearing this character, while Richard of Cirencester classes it as a *stipendiary* town, that is, according to his scheme of division, as a fourth-rate city, inferior in importance to a municipium, a colony and a town under Latian law; while the silence of the *Notitiæ Imperii* shows it to have a civil and not a military station. The vestiges of houses beyond the walls, discovered by sir John Boileau, show the commencement of the usual suburbs. The manner in which a portion of the wall has been earthed up on the outside also points to the existence of a time when the state of the country did not require the defences of the town to be maintained in all their original strength. A remarkable circumstance, to which Mr. King directed our attention on the spot, explains to my mind the purpose of this operation. He pointed out that it was confined to the south and portions of the east sides, in fact to that part where it had a favourable exposure. I have no doubt, therefore, that it was undertaken for horticultural purposes, to which such a slope would be well adapted. Instances of the application of the ditches and earthworks of old castles to gardening purposes will occur to all, and the same thing is to be met with even in modern fortresses, while the formation of a slope like this would be entirely consistent with what we know of Roman cultivation.

Independent of the existence of the ring in the tower on the west side,—the existence of which we have had confirmed by the personal recollection of Mr. Hudson Gurney, there is another feature in the fortification which even more strongly convinces me that the river originally washed the base of the western wall. Members who were present will recollect, that proceeding along the top of the south rampart, we, on approaching the corner, had to make rather an abrupt descent, after which, however, we still found ourselves on

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 123-129 *ante*.

the top of the west wall, in other words, a considerable bank runs a short distance behind the wall on this latter side. Now it seems certain that the engineer, unless the river came up to the foot of his wall, and so strengthened its defence, would have run his rampart along this bank, whereby he would not only have obtained greater height, but the base of his building would have been more difficult of access to an enemy than it would be if placed on a flat meadow as the ground appears at present. In connection with this, I may observe, that while the facts mentioned in Mr. Harrod's paper on Burgh<sup>1</sup> clearly demonstrate that the "estuary" theory of Messrs. Robberds and Woodward is utterly untenable, if pushed to the length it was carried by these gentlemen, we must not, on the other hand, assume that the ground presented in the time of the Romans precisely the same features that it does now. Although the facts referred to show that the process of silting, which gradually filled up the primeval estuaries, was far advanced before the Roman times, it does not follow that it was then completed to the extent we see it now. Indeed such occurrences as the obliteration of Grubbs Haven, near Yarmouth, in the fifteenth century, are almost direct evidence to the contrary. For my own part, looking to the character of the west wall at Caistor, and the ring in the tower, I believe that at the time when this town was founded, the Taes was navigable for boats of a certain burden, at least as far as this point, and that to the subsequent and apparently rapid silting up of this river we must in a great measure ascribe the *total* desertion of Caistor by its inhabitants. While adopting this opinion, I do not in the smallest degree overlook the injuries which appear to have been almost systematically inflicted on the Romano-British towns by the Saxon invaders,<sup>2</sup> but I do not recollect in this country a single instance of a place of the class and importance of Caistor where a desertion, so utterly and entirely complete, has occurred. To account for this singularity some cause must have existed independent of those acting both here and at other places, some cause peculiar to the individual locality, which I believe can only be found in the alteration in the state of the river referred to.

<sup>1</sup> Castles and Convents in Norfolk, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Vide Beale Poste's *Britannia Antiqua*, p. 318.



I may here explain that the fortifications of this class differ from the *Castella* of the previous section not so much in time as in character. It is true that when a country was subdued, the latter were first established, and this may be taken as the general rule ; but in some particular districts, long after they had been settled and the Roman dominion consolidated, when the walled towns had become old, and when even the subsequent and still more peaceful stage of the open hamlets and detached villas to be afterwards mentioned had existed for some time, new and foreign foes appeared, and it became necessary again to construct purely military posts as a defence against their attacks. This occurred in a marked manner along the coasts of the eastern and southern counties ; the Romans there being so much annoyed by the depredations of the pirates in Northern Germany, that it was called the Saxon shore, and its defence entrusted to a special officer. Under these circumstances, we should expect to find in the maritime parts of Norfolk *castella* of a date subsequent to the *civitates* of the district, and therefore feel no surprise when we are informed that the coins discovered at Caistor, when compared with those found at Burgh, furnish numismatic evidence that the former was occupied at an earlier period than the latter.

To the class of *civitates* I am also inclined to refer the Roman portion of the earthworks at Castle Acre. They are much too formidable to be considered the defences of an expeditionary camp. Their size—the area enclosed being about eleven acres—would, at first sight, seem to indicate a military post ; but the silence of the *Notitia*, more especially when the central position of the locality on one of the great lines of Roman road is considered, goes far to negative this, and to stamp this station with the character of a civil town ; while the evidence we possess of its continuous occupation by a population more or less numerous from Roman times down to the present day, tends materially to support the same conclusions.

The fourth and last phase of the Roman occupation arrived when, freed from all apprehension of insurrection or invasion, they dispensed entirely with defensive works and constructed open hamlets and detached villas, the latter often displaying signs of great luxury and magnificence. During the late Congress we did not encounter any remark-



able specimens of this class. The Roman remains found in and near the Market Place at Norwich seem to indicate the existence in that locality of one or more Roman villas, while the discoveries at Caistor, near Yarmouth, establish that place as the site of one of their hamlets. If, however, there once existed walls surrounding the latter, as stated by sir Henry Spelman, it would probably be more correctly placed under the preceding class. I find that it has been sometimes described as a *campum æstivum*, but the nature of the buildings discovered at Caistor are totally inconsistent with an encampment of that character, to say nothing of there being no winter station to correspond. The use of the *campum æstivum* originated in Italy and other warm climates, where the inhabitants abandon in summer the plains for the heights, in consequence of the malaria. In such districts these summer camps were indispensable. They are, however, of much rarer occurrence in this island, as our colder climate does not require them. Occasionally, however, they are found where the permanent station is so situated as to be subject to a more than usually high temperature during the hot months. This is the case at Bath, and the members who attended the Congress there will remember examining on Lansdown a most beautiful specimen of one of these summer camps, and a comparison of it with the records of the discoveries at Caistor, will at once establish the contrast.

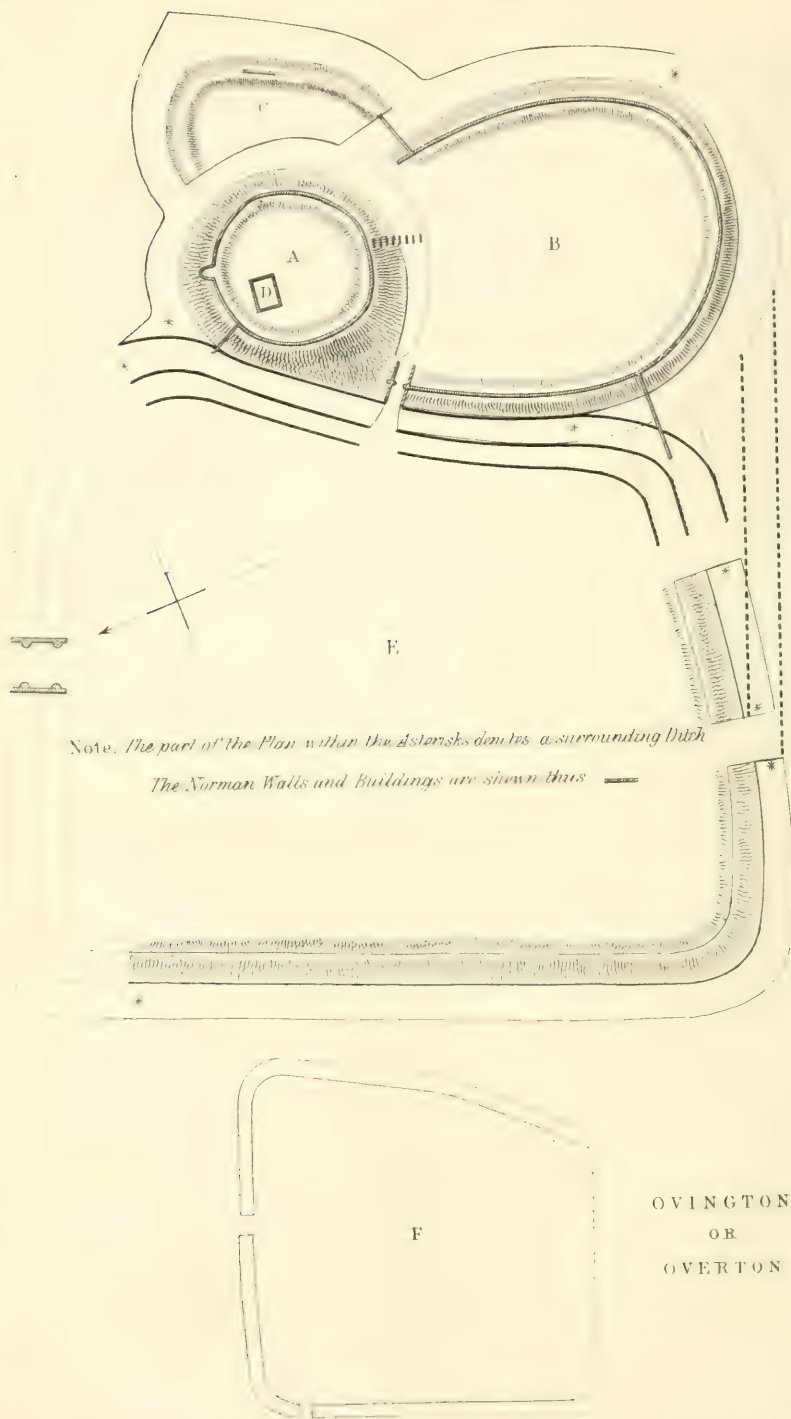
I have now to call your attention to a class of earthwork, of which the district of our recent Congress furnishes numerous and most interesting examples, several of which were visited by the Association. A definition, suggested by sir Thomas Beevor, accurately describes this type of fortification. They consist of an artificial mount, having attached to it one or more enclosures defended by earthworks of greater or less strength. The form of the mount varies from a nearly perfect cone, as at Thetford, through one more or less truncated, as at Norwich, Castle Acre and Ely, till it reaches that of a hollow crater at Castle Rising, and New Buckenham. Although this type is remarkably frequent in the county of Norfolk, it must not be supposed that it is in any way confined to that district; on the contrary, we find it most widely scattered through the whole extent of the island. The following may be cited among

other instances :—Tickell, in Yorkshire ; Headlingham, in Essex ; Coldred and Canterbury, in Kent ; Marlborough, in Wiltshire ; Trematon and Launceston, in Cornwall ; Windsor ; Warwick ; and Lewes, in Sussex ; the last presenting the peculiarity of two mounts, of which it is the only example. Generally, but not invariably, these earthworks are the site of the walls of Norman castles. I have, also, little doubt that further research will show that many, though perhaps not all, of the exceptions to this are only apparently so. To a visitor, the earthworks at Thetford present now as little evidence or trace of their having been surmounted by stone walls, as do those at Ely ; and this also appears to have been the case in the time of Blomefield and Salmon ; yet their existence at the former place is clearly established by the evidence, first, of an indenture, between Thomas, duke of Norfolk, and sir R. Fulmerstone, *temp.* Edward VI, in which the castle yard is described as enclosed with stone walls ; and second, the discovery of a portion of their foundations when a part of the rampart which crossed the Friar's Close, was removed in 1772. There is also every reason to suppose that these Norman castles were preceded by Saxon ones, and that the followers of the conqueror to whom these were granted, merely substituted their own form of architecture for that of their predecessors, without attempting to occupy a new site. This idea is strongly supported by the fact, that we meet with references to these castles as the residence of state prisoners, etc., at a period so immediately subsequent to the conquest, as to be scarcely compatible with the erection of Norman strongholds in the interval. In several instances, we have even more direct evidence ; for instance, Spelman records a grant about the year 677, to the monastery of Ely, of certain land which held by Castel guard service of the castel of Norwich ; and Gurdon points out that this establishes the existence of the castle at an earlier period, “for, by the Saxon laws, lands granted to the Church were not subject to secular services, if they were not so whilst they were in lay hands before they were granted to the Church.” I am, however, only aware of one instance in which any marked portion of Saxon masonry has remained to the present day, and that is the keep of Conisburgh castle, near Doncaster.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gough's *Camden*, iii, p. 267.



## PLAN OF CASTLE ACRE





This connection with the mediæval castles has had the effect of preventing this type of earthwork receiving the attention it merits. Archaeologists were so much occupied with the history and detail of the feudal fortress, that they either overlooked the existence of these earthworks, or merely mentioned them as an incident of the building, of about as much importance as the alteration of level produced by the information, "Dry rubbish may be shot here." Recently, however, they had begun to attract more notice; but it is to the publication of Mr. Harrod's *Castles and Convents of Norfolk*, that we are indebted for a full sense of their importance and the interest which attaches to them. That gentleman, after a most minute and persevering examination of the examples of this type, found in Norfolk and at Headlingham, has announced his conviction not only that these earthworks can in no way be looked upon as mere incidents of the mediæval castles, but that their origin must be carried back many hundred years, in fact that they are aboriginal British fortresses, which existed before the Roman invasion. From the well known eminence of Mr. Harrod, as an archæologist, and the ability with which he has supported this particular theory, it is with considerable diffidence, and only after a careful investigation of the subject, that I intimate my dissent from this pre-Roman date; while I fully concur with him in holding that, at least, as far as the mounts are concerned, they are in most cases much older than the castles. Nay, I go even further, for I believe that many of them were originally constructed for other purposes than those of military defence.

The key stone of Mr. Harrod's theory is found in the truly wonderful earthworks which are met with at Castle Acre. As, unfortunately, the Association was unable to visit this most interesting locality, I venture here to submit a short description of them which may serve to render more intelligible my subsequent observations. (See pl. 11.) They consist of the circular mount, A; of a horse-shoe entrenchment, B, of considerable size, on its south side; and of a smaller one, on its eastern face, shaped like the handle of a mug, or pewter pot, C. The mount is surrounded by a Norman wall inclosing a keep, D. The two other enclosures were defended in the same way.<sup>1</sup> On the west, there is a large, nearly

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Harrod was unable to discover any traces of the Norman wall around

rectangular intrenchment, E, inclosing an area of about ten acres, which is undoubtedly of a Roman character and origin. Its ramparts are not surmounted with any wall, but the northern entrance is occupied by a Norman gateway, from which a street runs to the opening at the south-east corner. There is another entrance on the south side, but further to the westward, and more nearly opposite that on the north. Mr. Harrod draws the conclusion, that the mount A, and the horse-shoe enclosure B, present an example of an early British fortress, which existed before the Roman occupation, from two circumstances :—

1st. From the general form of the earthworks, and particularly from the manner in which those occupied by the Norman walls are connected with the larger Roman entrenchment. As he considers that the sides of the latter have been intentionally diverted from the straight line of the square, in order to connect themselves with the former, he concludes that these must have been previously constructed, and that the Romans availed themselves of them to strengthen their position. A careful and, as far as I can answer for my own feelings, unprejudiced examination of the ground, produced on me an entirely opposite opinion. It is extremely difficult to explain, verbally, what depends so entirely upon the eye, and, more especially, when the latter is guided in a great measure by minute features in the locality which can hardly be fully represented even on a map or plan. I must, therefore, crave indulgence, if my explanation of the grounds of this opinion should appear obscure. At first sight the plan given by Mr. Harrod in his *Castles and Convents*, would appear to establish most fully his statement, that the sides of the Roman work had been inclined to accommodate them to the other fortifications ; but I think that, without impugning in the smallest degree the accuracy of this plan, a little consideration will very much lessen the weight attached to it ; because, when you examine it more carefully, you find that a large portion of it is represented by dotted lines, and is avowedly con-

the smaller of the enclosures ; but a landslip, which had occurred previous to the visit I paid to the spot in October last, had accidentally laid bare a part of its foundations. Following the line of direction thus given, I was of opinion that there were marks on the wall surrounding the mount of another having joined it at the point indicated, but without any attempt having been made to bond the two together.

jectural, including that most vital and important part, the vicinity of the point of junction. This is even more apparent in the original plan, from which that in Mr. Harrod's work is taken ; and, I may add, that I do not agree with these conjectures ; I believe that Mr. Harrod has been too much influenced by the existence of certain Norman walls and buttresses, in fixing his points of junction, and more especially in the case of that on the south. Judging from the general appearance of the ground, I should have been inclined to trace the outline of the Roman works along the dark line I have inserted on the plan ; as, however, the course of this is only sketched by the eye, I by no means offer it as being anything but a most rough approach to the correct one.

Again, if we carefully examine the line of the Roman works on the south side, we shall see that there was no necessity for any inclination towards the north, to enable it to join the horse-shoe enclosure, but, on the contrary, that it would equally have done so, if it had been carried on in the same direction which it had followed, from the corner to the most westward entrance.<sup>1</sup> This is the most remarkable ; as had this line been adopted, the junction with the horse-shoe work would have been much stronger in a military point of view, than it would be at the point selected by Mr. Harrod. Of the value of this difference in the angle of junction, the Roman engineers were well aware, as instances are found where they inclined their lines outward to secure a more favourable point of junction ; consequently we cannot, with any show of reason, suppose that they would abandon their original line and deflect it inwards, with the view of obtaining a weaker one. As, however, such deflection does appear to the eastward of the gate referred to, the natural deduction is, that this course could not have been adopted with any view of accommodating the junction of the Roman with the other earthworks of Castle Acre ; and if it has not, the whole of Mr. Harrod's argument from the form of the fortifications, at once falls to the ground.

I would now request you to throw the supposed British works entirely out of view, and to confine your attention to the Roman enclosure, adopting at the same time the line which I have ventured to propose as the correct one on the

<sup>1</sup> See the dotted line in the plan, plate 11.



eastern side. Assume that you met an entrenchment of this form without any adjuncts, is there any archæologist who would for an instant hesitate to pronounce it not only Roman, but Roman of a most common type? True it is not strictly rectangular, but we need travel but a very few miles from Castle Acre to find another Roman camp, adopting almost the same form in the absence of any disturbing causes. Indeed, the similarity between what I conceive to be the line of the Roman works at Castle Acre, and the exploitation of the camp at Ovington (see F), is most remarkable. The impression left upon me by the examination of Castle Acre, was, that there we have an ordinary form of a Roman camp totally uninfluenced by any adjacent works, and in no way altered to accommodate itself to them; and this being the case, such camp must necessarily be prior in date to the other works, as no Roman engineer would have selected a site for his entrenchments in close proximity to any existent fortifications which remained outside and independent of his own plan.<sup>1</sup>

While the impression I received from a survey of the works at Castle Acre was thus adverse to the theory of Mr. Harrod, it has been most materially strengthened by an examination of the form taken by the earthworks in the other cases where this type is found in connection with *undoubted* Roman entrenchments. I will not venture upon any criticisms in several of those instances which are not precisely analogous, but premising that the evidence derived from them is, without exception, in my favour, I shall content myself with calling attention to that of Marlborough, which nearly runs on all fours with Castle Acre, and is, I am convinced, conclusive of the argument as far as form is concerned. Here you have the mound abutting on the Roman camp in a similar manner, but under circumstances which enabled the boundaries of the latter to be more easily determined. The line of the Roman walls, as traced by Stukeley, has been corroborated by Mr. Waylen, the learned historian of the town. Their course has evidently no reference to the mount whatever, and what appears to be decisive, is, that the Roman road, which approached by a

<sup>1</sup> Although I have drawn my dark lines to correspond with Mr. Harrod's plan, my own impression is that along a great part of the south face, both of the Roman and horse-shoe work, there was no ditch, but only a simple escarpment, as we see on the river face of Taesburgh.



street on the east was originally carried along the front of the Roman camp in a straight line to the west, but "afterwards, in Saxon or Norman times, they built a larger castle upon the same ground after their model, and took in the mound, which obliged the road to go round it with a turn till it falls in again on the west side of the mound at the bounds of Preshute parish."<sup>1</sup> There can, therefore, I submit, be no doubt that the argument from the form of the works is decidedly in favour of the prior existence of the Roman works.

Before leaving this part of the subject, I may add, in reference to Castle Acre, that I consider the passage over the ditch into the mound and ballium to be the original east gate of the Roman camp. I believe that these works did not exist when the latter was laid out; that when they were formed, earth forming the rampart of the eastern side of the Roman works was used (being wrought stuff and easily conveyed by the gate in question) for the purpose of raising them; that on their first occupation they were sufficient for the garrison, no advantage being then taken of the large Roman area. This, however, was included by the Normans, who then discovered the weak point created by the angle at which the works joined at the east corner of the larger enclosure, and in consequence had recourse to stopping the opening with the stone wall formerly referred to.

The second argument by which Mr. Harrod supports his theory is founded on the fact, that when excavating in search of the foundations of the central Norman keep, he discovered on the crest of the mound numerous fragments of pottery evidently of Roman manufacture. From this circumstance he concludes that this nation occupied the mound, and therefore that it was probably constructed before their time. I have, however, frequently pointed out that nothing can be more fallacious than the evidence furnished by remains of this class, unless there is some further evidence directly connecting them with the defenders of the fortress, and showing that the place where they were discovered was one of their original deposits. Now at Castle Acre there is no evidence of this character. Indeed, if my conjecture that part of the rampart of the Roman camp was

<sup>1</sup> Waylen, *Hist. Marl.*, p. 290.

used for the purpose of heightening this mound be correct, that circumstance would account for the appearance of these potsherds in the place where they were found, without leading us to suppose that they were placed there by Roman hands. I am able, however, to lay before the Association instances from other examples of the class of fortification we are considering, where similar remains were found, undoubtedly *in situ* and under circumstances which afford indisputable evidence that these mounds were erected not by the earlier Britons, but by the Romans themselves, although for other purposes than those of military defence. Lewes, in Sussex, possesses many features in common with Castle Acre. Both were Roman stations. Both have castles with this type of earthwork. Both were granted by the Conqueror to his daughter Gundrada and her husband William, first earl de Warrenne, and these eminent persons erected a castle and a priory at both places. One of the most remarkable instances to which I refer occurred at Lewes, and the circumstance is thus described in Horsfield's History of that town (vol. i, p. 74).

“In 1814, a discovery was made by Dr. Mantell, when constructing an harbour in his garden, which is bounded on the north-west by the mound on which the western keep of the castle is built. This mound, from its base to the height of twelve feet, consists of *undisturbed chalk*; the upper part is artificial, being a compound of chalk, mould, and rubbish. On clearing the lower part of the bank, a vertical section of an excavation in the chalk was exposed. It was inversely conical. Diameter at the top four feet, at the bottom two. Depth nearly six feet. An urn was placed at the bottom of this pit, which was cracked in every direction. It contained the skeleton of a cock surrounded with ashes. It was thirty inches in circumference, of a dark-brown earth rayed externally and the base narrow. . . . . It is certain, the interment of this urn was antecedent to the formation of the mound on which the west keep of the castle is built. The excavation was in the natural chalk, and the superincumbent mound is evidently artificial.”

Fragments of the urn and its contents are preserved in the British Museum, and there cannot be a doubt that it is of Roman manufacture.

The Dungeon, or Danejohn, at Canterbury, is also referable to this class of fortification; and there a similar discovery was made,—thus recorded by Douglas in his *Nenia Britannica*, p. 141:

“In 1783, I received informaton from Canterbury, that part of an eminence,—on which was situated an orchard, to the south-east of Don John, or Dane John’s Hill, near Riding Gate, through which Watling-street passes in a line to Dover,—had fallen down by frost; when a discovery was made of ancient earthenware, containing burnt bones. I visited it in the May following, and discovered the impression of an urn situated on a stratum of wood ashes, a foot above the natural soil, over which was thrown the bank of dark factitious soil, blended with Roman potsherds, fragments of Roman bricks, oyster shells, and animal bones. Having procured a labourer, I found another vessel, seven inches high, of a conic form, of ordinary brown earth, which contained the bones of a cock. It was clearly Roman.”

Although not so directly in point, I may also refer to a circumstance relating to Norwich castle, mentioned in Gough’s *Camden*, ii, p. 106-7:

“In sinking a well in it, about 1785, a regular beaten footpath was found on the level of the ditches, which had been used before the hill was thrown up.”

When, in addition to the evidence furnished by these facts, we recollect that the Roman system of tactics is incongruous with the broken and uneven surface which the area of this type of earthwork generally presents, and recall the silence preserved by the classic historians as to their existence (to which I have already alluded), we are, I think, driven to the conclusion that the idea of their British origin is untenable, and that they must be assigned to a post-Roman period. When, however, we attempt to fix more precisely the period of the first adoption of this type of fortress, and the first application of these mounds to military purposes, we encounter much uncertainty and difficulty. Still I think that, even in this obscurity, sufficient data are to be found to justify us in fixing upon the commencement of the struggle between the Saxons and Danish invaders as at least the most probable era.

It has sometimes been supposed that, although this type of fortification was not used by the Romans themselves, it was directly derived from them,—the prætorium being the germ of the mound; and the procastra, or the double camps, like that at Burghead on the Murray Firth, that of the adjacent enclosures; and therefore, that it is probable they were constructed by the Romano-British tribes after the

withdrawal of the legions. This appears to me, however, to be entirely fanciful. In the first place it seems strange, if this were their true origin, that in none of the cases where we find Roman stations in connexion with this class of earthworks is there the smallest trace of there having been a *procastrum*; while, on the other hand, in none of the stations furnished with that appendage do we meet with an instance of one of these mounds; and yet these are the very localities in which we should, *à priori*, suppose, under this theory, that the combination would first and most readily occur. Again, the mounds do not occupy the position, with reference to the rest of the works, which was held by the *prætorium*. That of Lewes comes nearest to the latter; but that, we have seen, was erected by the Romans for sepulchral purposes. There is a mound in one of the corners of the Roman walls at Caerwent which approaches more nearly to the position of the mounds of the castle class; and our esteemed associate, Mr. Wakeman, informs me that it appears to have been constructed contemporaneously with the walls; but then the Dungeon occupies a similar corner in the old walls of Canterbury; and it has been shewn to have been funereal in its character. The situation of the mounds at Castle Acre and Marlborough, in reference to the Roman station, is precisely what this people adopted for interment, viz., without their gates, but in close proximity to the roads leading from them.

Again, we have scattered over the country mounds of an undoubted sepulchral character, and yet perfectly similar in every way to the castellated mounds,—some unfavourable and accidental circumstance in their position having prevented their being occupied in the same manner. With the exception of those of the crater shape, which I believe to be a variety of more recent introduction, there can, I think, be little doubt that all these mounds were originally sepulchral tumuli, and that they were converted into military fortresses after all veneration for the memory of those interred there had passed away. This seems to dispose of the claims of the Romano-British to be the originators of this application for giving all weight to the effect produced by the introduction of Christianity. We cannot conceive that such feelings had entirely passed away with the withdrawn legions, when we recollect the closeness of



the connexion which subsisted between the Romans and their colonists and subject tribes; or that the Romano-Britons were prepared to desecrate the graves of those who were undoubtedly the ancestors of many members of their nation. The case was, however, altered when a stranger tribe, like the Saxons, overran the country; and becomes completely so when a change in nationality and religion were subsequently combined.

A number of minor circumstances also seem to refer to the period I have mentioned. We have seen that the term *dungeon* or *danejohn*, is applied to a stronghold, or, to speak more correctly, to a mound of this type at Canterbury; and we find this word similarly used at Warwick and other castles of this class. Although I do not attach much weight to the derivation of *dungeon* from the Danes, still, the fact of a popular tradition to this effect is evidence of a belief that these fortifications were in some way or other connected with that people. Nor is this weakened, when we turn to Nottingham, where there can be no doubt that a fierce struggle took place between them and the Saxons, and observe that the term *dungeon* is there bestowed on a natural rock, which replaces in that fortress the artificial mound of the fortifications we are considering.

Again, those acquainted with the Icelandic sagas, will recollect in them many proofs of the importance which the military tactics of their authors assign to mounds and elevations, even of the most temporary character. In several instances we find the heroes of these poems, when suddenly attacked, taking refuge on the top of a hay rick and there defending themselves against their assailants.

Neither is direct historic evidence by any means wanting. Independent of the events relative to Nottingham, to which I have this instant alluded, I find that our associate, Mr. Davis, in his most able paper on Ely cathedral, states, that from the history of that edifice it is his opinion, that the castle there was erected as a fortification against the Danes. Borlase (*History of Cornwall*, p. 330), after referring the type of a castle with a base court, including an artificial hill, to the Saxons, instances Warwick as a particular example.

“Eftleda, daughter of Alfred, and wife of Ethelfred, of Mercia, in 915, built a fortification against the Danes, still called the *Dungeon*, on an



artificial hill, at Warwick. Also one at Tamworth. Her castles, *nine in number*, were all called burghs, or burrows, and very properly, as they were all raised on artificial hills, like barrows or tumuli."

This is corroborated by Dugdale (*Warwickshire*, p. 371).

"Ethelfled, daughter of king Alfred,<sup>1</sup> who had the whole kingdom of Mercia given to her by her father,<sup>2</sup> to the noble Ethelfred in marriage, repaired its ruins;<sup>3</sup> and in the year of Christ, 915, made<sup>4</sup> a strong fortification, here called the dungeon, for resistance of the enemy upon a hill of earth artificially raised near the river-side, as is yet to be seen on the west part of the castle."

I admit that this is, after all, but scanty testimony; but it must be kept in mind, that references to the erection of particular castles are by no means numerous in the old chronicles, and when Asser and the other Saxon writers refer to castles and fortifications raised during this great contest, they do so in such vague terms, that it is impossible to refer them to any particular type. I have, however, little doubt, that a minute examination of these old chronicles would furnish us with other instances where the construction of individual fortresses of this class is referred to in this period in our history; but it would be no light task to wade through the *mare magnum* of the monkish histories in search of such chance allusions. When, however, the importance of the question becomes more generally known, it may be hoped that those who are consulting these works for other purposes will, at the same time, note any evidence they may meet with in reference to the erection of this species of earthwork.

While, however, I consider the period of the Danish contest as one prolific in this class of fortification, I by no means assert that there are not examples the existence of which may be traced to an earlier period. Thus, at Norwich, we can hardly suppose, in consistency with silence of subsequent history in respect to such a change, that a Saxon fortress, separate and distinct from the present one, ever existed, and yet we have evidence that a royal castle stood there as early as the middle of the seventh century. To the same period must be referred the great North British Poem of the *Gododin*, which contains passages that may possibly refer to

<sup>1</sup> William of Malmesbury.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* (*Sic* in original.)

<sup>3</sup> Rous Chronicle.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

this class of entrenchment. For instance, a distinction is drawn between the wall of the citadel and that of the general fortification ; the troops are described as descending from the heights of the citadel, and the epithet "green" is bestowed on the ramparts of both. I must, however, add that I have not met with any positively marked examples of this kind of earthwork in the district to which the poem of Aneurin refers, although there are various fortifications which more or less closely approach it, more especially if we admit that it might be varied from the country presenting naturally isolated mounts or knolls of a convenient form, and even more formidable as a defence than any artificial mound. Of course, when the use of these mounds for warlike purposes was once recognized, they would be constructed on purpose where the convenience of an existent elevation, whether natural or artificial, could not be obtained near the locality where a fortress was required. In such cases every effort would be made to economize labour in accordance with the attainment of the military advantage of the central raised earthwork ; and this, I have no doubt, was the object with which the crater-shaped form of New Buckenham and Castle Rising was adopted. As to the latter, I may mention that the works there convey to my eye the appearance of a simultaneous and homogeneous whole, while I cannot find the smallest scintilla of evidence from remains or otherwise that the Romans ever occupied this locality.

*(To be continued.)*

## ON THE WALLS AND GATES OF THE CITY OF NORWICH.

BY T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A., VICE-PRESIDENT AND TREASURER.

THE walls and gates of the city of Norwich offer to us interesting specimens of protective erections of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The city of Norwich had suffered so greatly during the rebellion of the barons in the reign of king John, that it became necessary in that of

Edward I to surround it with a wall, gates, bulwarks, etc., for its defence. From various sources consulted by the rev. Mr. Blomefield, the historian of Norfolk, we gather that the building of the walls commenced in 1294, from which time the castle, as a defence of the city, became neglected. A murage, or wall tax, was levied, and continued for three years, at the expiration of which time a patent was passed establishing another. In the 33rd of Edward I, upon a petition from the citizens to the king, a new grant for murage was given to finish the building of the walls, and was to be in operation for five years. For procuring this grant and thus forwarding the erection of the walls, the city of Norwich, in 1305, voted an annuity of 20s. for life, under the common seal, to Simon de Hedersite.

In the reign of Edward II (1312), whilst progress was making in the erection of the city walls, the labourers employed found large sums of money which had been deposited in the ditches; and upon digging in the trenches for the foundations, they came upon a quantity of coin of the reign of Henry I, which, after certain legal purposes, was given up to the assay master of the mint at Norwich, who, upon examination, found that one pound of silver of the coin was in value 3*d.*, or three pennyweights, more than a pound of the then current coin. In 1317 another murage tax was granted, and the walls, by this aid, were completed in 1319 or 1320.

In the reign of Edward III (1330), a question of right to ground upon which the citizens had built their walls, arose between the prior and the city, and was amicably adjusted by the former releasing all right to the ground between Barr gate and Fibrigge (Magdalen) gate; in return for which the latter released the prior all the land against the site of his monastery, between the precinct wall and the river Wensum, and further agreed that he might build houses on each side of the Bishop's bridge, leaving a passage for watering horses, lading, etc., on both sides of the bridge; upon which he was also permitted to build gates, to be inhabited like the other city gates, which were, however, to be kept by the citizens, though the profits derivable from them were to belong to the prior. In 1336, the king granted a toll, by royal prerogative, for murage to repair the walls. In 1342, the gates and towers were fortified, and fit for habitation;



for although they had been some time built, they had never been fitted up. This work was effected by the aid of Richard Spynk, a patriotic citizen of Norwich, who liberally gave thirty espringholds, or warlike instruments to throw large stones with. Two of these were to be kept at Coslany (St. Martin's) gate, two at St. Austin's gate, two at Magdalen gate, one at Bishop's gate, two in the tower by the river by the dungeon, one at Conisford gate, six in the great black tower by Ber-street gate, six at Ber-street gate, two at Needham (St. Stephen's) gate, two at St. Giles's gate, two at Westwyck (St. Bennet's) gate, and two at the Toll house. To every espringhold he gave also one hundred gogions, or balls, locked up in a box with ropes, etc., appertaining to them; and also four great arblastars, or cross bows; and to each of them one hundred gogeons, and two pair of grapples, to draw up the bows with, and other gogeons and armour; and he also gave 200*l.* 5*s.* to enlarge and deepen the ditches belonging to the walls; and expended much money in repairing a low place between the river and St. Martin's gate, and made a portcullis, with all the instruments belonging to it, both bars and chains; and he covered and leaded the gate. He also made the stone front of St. Austin's gate, and leaded and covered that gate, and made a portcullis there; and built as much as forty-five rods of wall and four towers between St. Austin and St. Magdalen gates, and in a great measure built those gates, and made the chains and portcullises; and he built Bishop's gate upon the bridge, and repaired the bridge and arches. He also made portcullises to Ber-street gate, St. Stephen's gate, St. Giles's gate, and St. Bennet's gate, and he furnished them with chains, etc.; and laid out above 100*l.* more about Bishop's gate, and in building a stone wall. He built the tower on the other side of the river, and made the chains to connect the two towers, and prevent any vessels passing into the city without leave. The various towers received as much attention from this liberal citizen as the gates; and having done so much, he offered another 100*l.*, provided any would raise as much more to finish all the towers in the same manner as those he had done; but finding no one endowed with a like degree of public spirit, he himself undertook the work, and performed it, as a return for which the corporation of Norwich exempted him and his heirs for ever from serving on juries without

their own consent, and freed them from all tollages, taxes in the city, customs, murage, pavage, etc.

The number of battlements at this time in the towers, gates, and walls, are recorded by Blomefield to have been as follow : from the river to St. Martin's gate, one hundred and twelve, and ten upon the gate; thence, in the walls and towers, to St. Austin's gate, sixty-nine, and on the gate, twelve more; to St. Magdalen, in the walls and towers, one hundred and fifty-three, and on the gate, thirteen; thence to Ber-street, or Pockthorpe gate, in the walls and towers, one hundred and seventy-eight, and on the gate, ten; and from that gate to the river about forty, which Blomefield found omitted, as he presumed, from their not being quite finished when the return was made. Passing thence by the east side of the city to the dungeon, or round tower, standing across the river by Conisford gate (which was the old boom), on the dungeon were twelve battlements; and on the tower and wall to Conisford gate, twenty-six, and on the gate, fourteen; thence to Ber-street gate, one hundred and fifty, and on the gate and wicket by it, twenty-seven; thence to St. Stephen's gate, in the towers and walls, three hundred and seven, and on the gate and wicket, thirty-eight; thence to St. Giles's gate, in the tower and walls, two hundred and twenty-nine, and on the gate and wicket, fifteen; thence to St. Bennet's gate, one hundred, and on the gate and wicket, sixteen; and thence to Heigham gate, in the towers and walls, seventy-nine, and on the gate, four; thence to the river, on the wall and tower, sixteen. The return whence this enumeration was taken was mutilated, a leaf having been cut out. It probably, as Blomefield has suggested, was made to assign to the several parishes the walls, gates, and towers they were required to maintain and repair; which is known to have been the practice after this time.

In 1379 (*temp.* Richard II), St. Stephen's gate was leased by the citizens to John de Taseburgh for life, he holding the same by a yearly presentation of a "launce and target handsomely adorned" to the bailiffs and commonalty. In 1385, a general survey of the walls and ditches was made, and wardens were elected to their custody. In 1399, archers and armed men were hired to keep the city; the Red tower, or dungeon, was fitted up to guard the river; and all the city gates, with the exception of Conisford, St. Stephen, St.

Martin, St. Magdalen, and Bishop's gate, were kept shut day and night. The excepted ones were, however, shut early; and efforts were now made espousing the cause of Henry duke of Lancaster, and endeavours made to obtain a charter appointing a mayor and other officers, of which they had been disappointed by king Richard, against whom they now openly declared.

In 1403, in the reign of Henry IV, the mayor, sheriffs, citizens, and commonalty, had full power and liberty given to them to appropriate and make the best of all gates, bridges, and waste grounds, both by land and water, in the whole liberties, to enable them to repair the gates and walls; and in 1460 (Henry VI), the civil commotions caused the city gates to be kept shut and locked day and night, except five, which were constantly guarded by soldiers; three at Berstreet gate, five at Needham gate, four at Westwyck, three at Coslany, and three at Fybrigge gate.

In the reign of Edward IV (1481), the ancient assessment of the city towards the repair of the walls was renewed, and the apportionment of the several districts to this necessity is detailed by Blomefield (vol. ii, p. 122, fol. edit.). Nothing of consequence occurred in relation either to the walls or gates during the reigns of Edward V, Richard III, Henry VII, and Henry VIII; but in that of Edward VI, distinguished by the remarkable rebellion of Kett and his followers, much damage was occasioned to the city, so that the gates required considerable restoration. They were nearly all either made new or repaired, and various alterations, of course, introduced. The fee-farms paid by the city were remitted for three years, by act of parliament, to make amends for the dangers occasioned; and the sums were devoted to the restorations.

In the succeeding reigns of Mary, Elizabeth, and James I, nothing of consequence ensued; but in that of Charles I, in 1642, the booms were repaired, and St. Austin's and Bishop's gate were rampired up. In the following year Conisford gate was stopped up, St. Giles's gate locked up, also Pockthorpe gate and St. Austin's, and the rest were strictly guarded during the night. In the course of a few months they were, however, reopened, the citizens undertaking to rampire them up again at their own charge upon receiving warning to do so. In 1644, five were again shut up, and a



strict watch set, on the gild day, at all the gates. From this time there occur no matters of any historical importance connected with the walls, to be found recorded in the city archives; and it may be presumed they were permitted gradually to pass into decay, as the necessity for them, as a measure of defence and protection, declined. The walls can now be traced round the city, built of flint, with brick dressings and brick arches to carry the alure at the back of the parapet.

To refer more especially to the gates connected with the walls. Of the gates and their houses, in the time of Carter, in 1786, eleven were standing; the twelfth had been long removed, having been taken down when Blomefield wrote, in 1741. Mr. Carter made sketches of these interesting works, and they were in the possession of the late Mr. John Britton, four having been engraved to accompany a paper on the subject, delivered at the meeting of the Archæological Institute in 1847, and to be seen in the Norwich volume published as the result of this Congress. Eight of the gates out of the eleven standing in Carter's time were taken down in 1792, and the remaining three in 1808. Very trifling, indeed, are the remains now to be observed. These gates, as we have seen by the preceding notices, namely, the Boom, Conisford gate, Ber-street gate, Brazen Door, St. Stephen's gate, St. Giles's gate, St. Bennet's gate, Heigham gate, St. Martin's gate, St. Augustine's gate, Magdalen gate, Pockthorpe gate, were fortified places capable of accommodating several men, and built evidently for defence, being of substantial masonry embattled and crenellated, having machicolations to enable those within to assail whoever might attempt to enter. Portcullises, bars, etc., were also belonging to them; and in this way the cathedral and palace were protected and guarded against irruption.

Britton tells us that Mr. Stevenson had drawings taken of the eleven gates standing in 1791, the year before they were entirely removed. These were made by the camera obscura; and upon Mr. Stevenson's death passed into the hands of his son, a late associate of our body. At his decease they were purchased by Mr. Muskett, the bookseller; and they are now the property of that gentleman's daughter, who most kindly entrusted them to Mr. Gurney for exhibition to us at the Congress held at Norwich in 1857. As relics of ancient Norwich they are of some interest.



The gates however, it must be admitted, in 1791 presented an aspect in many particulars very different from that of the time in which they were originally built. Five centuries had passed away, during which time, alterations, additions, and emendations, the effect of time, and the necessary repairs, must unquestionably have produced many changes in the features of these erections; still they have sufficient traces of their original condition to show what was their pristine structure.

The gates varied in the number of battlements upon them and their accompanying wickets. Thus at Heigham there were four, at St. Martin's ten, at Pockthorpe also ten, at Magdalen thirteen, at Conisford fourteen, at St. Giles' fifteen, at St. Bennet's sixteen, at Ber-street twenty-seven, and at St. Stephen's thirty-eight.

Of the twelve gates the following notices may not be unacceptable:

1. The BOOM TOWERS of Norwich have been figured by Mr. Britton from a drawing by Carter in 1786, in the volume of the Archæological Institute (p. 126). This position constituted the point of control of the direction of the vessels up the river.

2. CONISFORD GATE is the southern gate; and Blomefield tells us that one of the towers which stands on the east side of the river was that in which the keeper of the old boom or beam, which went across the river between these two towers, dwelt, thus being at hand to admit such boats as he thought proper up the river; the boom being of a double use, namely, to stop all persons from coming up the river the city thought proper, and to hinder any boats departing before the city toll was paid,—a certificate of which was to be produced to the keeper ere he suffered their boats to pass (iv, 65.)

3. BER-STREET GATES formed the principal entrance to the castle, and consequently were of much importance.

4. BRAZEN GATE was originally a tower having a postern of brass,—whence its name. It was superseded by one of iron; and these formed a passage for horsemen, and called the Newe Gate, which was again changed to Swyne Market Gate.

5. ST. STEPHEN, or NEDHAM, GATE had, in early times, a hermitage; and in the fifteenth century (1435) a hermit was

buried here, and in 1483 another. In Henry VI's time, an order of court, according to Blomefield, was issued enacting that every mayor should have his riding about the city walls within one month after his change, in which all the walls, ditches, gates, and towers, should be examined and repaired; and the *pomarium*, or space round the walls, both within and without, kept clear and cleaned. In which space, though now many houses are erected, yet formerly it was not lawful to have buildings at all to incommode the passages (pp. 4, 166.) The leper hospital stood at this part.

6. ST. GILES'S GATE was once called New Port, and also Potter Gate, and guards the western entrance to the city.

7. ST. BENET, or ST. BENEDICT GATE, was also called Westwyke gate, standing in the west, at the winding of the river.

8. HEIGHAM or HELLE GATES. (*Portæ Inferi.*) This name is endeavoured to be accounted for by Blomefield, from the low situation and the singular appearance the street presented when any one looked down it from Charing Cross. It offered a prodigious chasm and declivity, like (as the historian says) the entrance to the ancient poets' hell. It was a postern only, till in later times it was removed to make a passage for carriages, never rebuilt, and lies open and in ruins.

9. ST. MARTIN'S GATE, or St. Martin's at the Oak gate, was formerly called Coslany gate, a name said to be derived from Coste-lane, or Coslany, a corruption implying a way lying against the *coste* (côté), or river side.

10. ST. AUSTIN'S GATE was for a considerable time connected with almshouses built by Thomas Pye, alderman, March 29 (42nd Elizabeth).

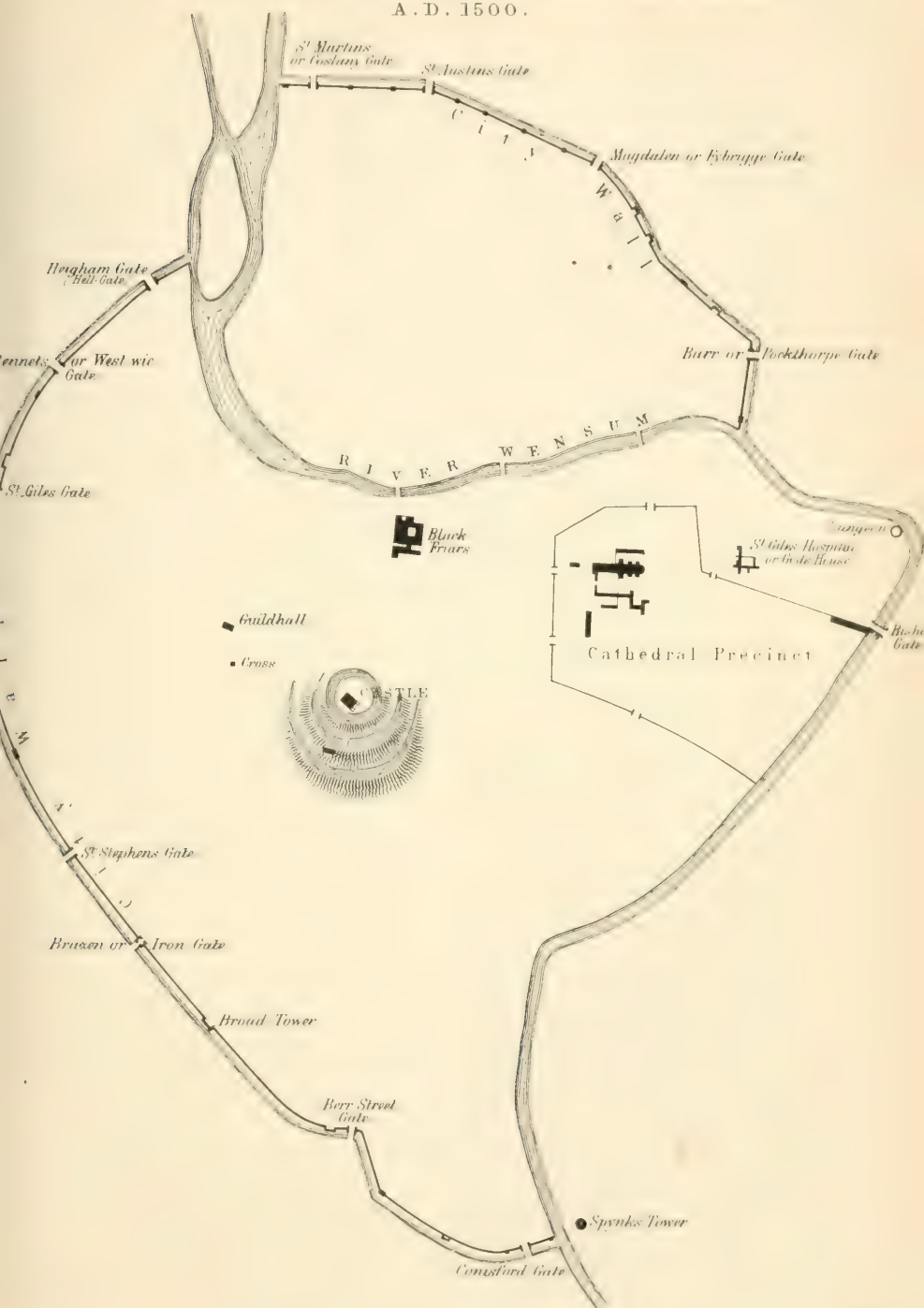
11. MAGDALEN GATE was formerly called Fibridge, or Fybrigge, gate, and also the Leper's gate, being in the vicinity of the Leper house at that spot.

12. POCKTHORPE GATE derives its name from a manor which formed part of Thorpe, and from which it was severed. It then became Poc-Thorp, or Little Pockethorpe gate.

In the annexed plate (plate 12), taken in the year 1560, I have endeavoured to give to the reader a delineation of the circuit or course of the walls, and the relative position of the several gates. By this it will be seen in what manner protection was afforded to the cathedral precinct and other parts of the city. As the different places are marked on the plan, no further specification is necessary.

THE SITE OF NORWICH, WITH ITS WALLS AND GATES.

A.D. 1500.







## CAISTER CASTLE.

BY T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A., VICE-PRESIDENT AND TREASURER.

THE remains of Caister castle are to be seen in a village distant about three miles, in a northerly direction, from Yarmouth, on the eastern edge of the sandy shore of Norfolk. Of Caister, under the occupation of the Romans, we possess but little information; and that little is, indeed, confined to the reports of the discovery of certain remains recorded by the rev. Thos. Clowes, of Yarmouth, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for Nov. 1837. These were found in a field which tradition has pointed out as a spot where formerly existed a camp; but the appearances which usually denote such a formation are not, at this day, discernible; which strengthens the opinion entertained by Mr. Dawson Turner, that the Caister encampment was "one of the description called *æstiva*, composed principally, if not altogether, of earthworks."<sup>1</sup> From the account given by Mr. Clowes we learn that "some countrymen working in a field a few hundred yards to the north-west of Caister church, by the side of the Norwich road, struck upon a wall built of Roman brick or tiles; and having previously found many skeletons in the course of their labours, supposed that this was a vault or bricked grave." Mr. Clowes proceeded to clear the place, but discovered nothing among the earth beyond the mingled bones of animals,—particularly the ox and pig,—together with oyster-shells, stones, and fragments of Roman pottery. A brick pit was met with at the bottom of the earth, upon the natural clay, the masonry of which was rude, and there was no paved bottom. Many skeletons have been found in working the clay of this locality; and in throwing out the soil some coins of Constantine have been brought to light. Fragments of Roman urns were common, but only one entire black urn was found. Other remains obtained in the neighbourhood were of the same description; and the urns were ascertained to have been originally covered with a tile, and to have been filled with fragments of bone. According to the conjecture of Mr. Dawson Turner,<sup>2</sup> in this same field, of

<sup>1</sup> Sketch of the History of Caister Castle; Lond., 1842, 8vo., p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 21.

which Mr. Clowes has given us the account, forty years previously were disinterred several human skeletons disposed in regular order, and among them many Roman coins, which led to an opinion that the place had been the burial-ground of the camp. Further examination, however, not being permitted to be made, the matter has remained in uncertainty.

Our knowledge of Caister castle is little more than conjectural, and derived from a ground plan engraved in Grose's *Antiquities of England and Wales*, contributed by a Norfolk antiquary (Mr. Ives), well known to us by his *Remarks on the Ancient Garianonum, or Burgh Camp*. By this plan it is made to consist of two nearly equal quadrangles placed side by side, east and west, connected by a narrow passage, and surrounded by a moat; upon which Mr. Turner judiciously remarks, that, "had the historian of Garianonum carried his researches a little further, and looked into the adjoining dwellinghouse, he would there have found a quantity of masonry evidently coeval with the castle, and a tower not unlike those at the two extremities of the eastern line of the enclosure." This throws the matter into doubt, and a question foreseen by Mr. Turner arises,—“whether the tower just mentioned stood like the others, at one of the angles of the walls, or whether it was really unconnected with them? In the former case,” he remarks, “there must have been a greater quadrangle that enclosed the lesser; while, under the latter supposition, the dwellinghouse and its appurtenances must have formed a detached building, of whose shape, and use, and dimensions, we are alike ignorant. Both theories are beset with difficulties.”<sup>1</sup>

It is deserving of remark, that no traces of a drawbridge are apparent. There must, however, have been one; and an inventory of much interest, to which I shall presently refer, indeed makes special mention of “a chamber over the draughtbrige.” Where so little remains to guide us, it were vain to indulge in speculation. We may be satisfied of the original of a building, though we may be unable, at this distance of time, and in the absence of documentary information, to determine its precise character. Let me, therefore, call your attention to the history of the locality, in which we find that, at the period of the Conquest, among the nine manors recorded to have been given by William the Conqueror to

<sup>1</sup> Sketch, etc., p. 7.

his follower, Ralph Guader, that of *Castre* is enumerated. Its situation is in East Flegg hundred; and in the time of Henry II the tithe was compounded between the chapter of St. Idevert de Gornay and the dean of Flegg.

The manors to which our attention is specially directed were five in number: 1, Castor Bardolf on the sea; 2, Castor and Reedham; 3, Vaux's and Bezouns; 4, St. Bennet's abbey; 5, Horning hall.

1. Castor manor was held *in capite* by Ralph Guader, earl of Norfolk, in 1070, who, rebelling against the Conqueror, incurred its forfeiture, and was obliged to fly into Brittany. Godric then became steward of it for the Conqueror; and it subsequently passed to Hugh de Gournay, who had accompanied William into England. This was after 1080; and Mr. Hudson Gurney, with whom I have had the advantage of conferring upon this subject, is of opinion that all the Conqueror had to seize of Ralph Guader's in Caister was the castle and a very small portion of land; for Hugh de Gournay's grant from that earl's forfeiture lay scattered over other parts of Norfolk, Hingham, Kimberley, etc. It remained, however, in the possession of Hugh de Gournay until the 22nd of Henry III, when it passed to the female line, and came to Julia, heiress of Hugh de Gournay, who married William lord Bardolf, through whom the lordship of Caister descended to Philip lord Bardolf, thence to viscount Beaumont, and upon his death reverted to the crown. In 1512, it was granted by Henry VIII to Alice Stanhope, widow of Edward Stanhope; and in 1532 it is said to have been purchased of Henry VIII by sir William Paston, in consideration of 207*l*. The sum of 9*l*. 11*s*. 8*d*. was also paid by sir William Paston to the treasurer of the Court of Augmentations.<sup>1</sup> It thus passed through several families.

2. Castor and Reedham were apparently under the abbot of St. Bennet in 1220.

3. Vaux and Bezoun were, according to Blomefield, purchased by John, son of Alexander Fastolf, in 1356; and he held it, together with that of Caister and Reedham, until the death of sir John Fastolfe in 1459. He was buried by the side of his wife, within the precincts of the abbey church of St. Bennet's in the Holme, which was the parish of Horning.

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Paston was a grandson of the celebrated judge in the reign of Henry VI, and he died in 1610, at the age of eighty-two.

A brass to a John Fastolf (ob. 1445) and his wife (ob. 1478) was put up in Oulton church, Suffolk, but which is no longer to be seen.<sup>1</sup> The manor of the Fastolfs was that belonging to the Vaux's, purchased, 37th Edward III, by Hugh Fastolf of Yarmouth, mariner, son of William, son of John Sparowe of Norwich, who married the widow of sir William de Vaux of Keswick. The Vaux's were mesne lords under the Bigods. Upon the death of sir John Fastolf, in 1459, the duke of Norfolk made a claim, which Mr. Hudson Gurney regards as an escheat to the over-lord in consequence of sir John not having a license of mortmain; and a claim was also made by the duke of Exeter, which the same authority considers to have been the result, as supposing it an escheat to the crown. The executors of sir John Fastolf were sir W. Yelverton, *the judge*; Wm. Jenny, a *serjeant-at-law*; John Paston; Thomas Howes, *clerk*; and William of Worcester. Yelverton and Jenny do not appear to have acted; and sir John Paston's possession appears to carry with it suspicions of robbery and breach of trust. Mr. Hudson Gurney conceives Thomas Howes and William of Worcester to have been bribed.<sup>2</sup>

4. St. Bennett's abbey, as we learn from *Domesday*, was in the abbot.

5. Horning hall was, in the reign of Henry IV, in the family of the Cleres.

Presentations to the Free Chantry were made by sir W. Vaux in 1300; to Blaister St. Edmund, by Bardolf, in 1303; to the rectory, by Bardolf, in 1304; and to the vicarage, by the bishop, in 1390.

The remains of the present castle pertain to a building *circa* 1420, erected by sir John Fastolfe, and subsequently added to by the Pastons. More than four centuries have therefore elapsed since the mansion, the ruins of which we have assembled this day to view, was erected. During that time it has been permitted beyond most other edifices to have longer remained untenanted; hence its gradual but

<sup>1</sup> A lithograph of the brass accompanies Mr. D. Turner's *Sketch of Caister Castle*, etc., p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> In addition to those above mentioned as executors, Mr. D. Turner gives John lord Beauchamp; Nicholas, abbot of Langley; and friar John Brackley. He omits serjeant Jenny. Paston and Howys are the only ones stated to have acted under the will; the first as being the nearest of kin, the latter as having ministered to his spiritual necessities.



certain decay. We are left to estimate its former grandeur by an inventory transcribed from two rolls enumerating the effects belonging to sir John Fastolfe, and given by him "to John Paston, squier, and Thomas Howys, clerk, of trust and confidence that the same godes shuld the more sauflly be kept to the use of the said sir John duryng his life, and after his decesse to be disposed in satisfiing of his duettes and dettes to God and holy churche, and to all other, and in fulfilling and execucion of his legate, laste wille and testament, without eny defrauding of the said holy churche, or of eny creditours or persones," published in the *Archæologia*,<sup>1</sup> under the able editorship of my late friend Mr. Amyot, the treasurer of the Society of Antiquaries. Of this inventory a short account may not be unacceptable, for of it may in truth be said, as by its learned editor is averred, that "no inventory equally detailed, and of an equally early date, is known elsewhere to exist". The inventory specifies the money, plate, wardrobe, and furniture, which belonged to one of the heroes of Agincourt, a brave and successful commander in the reign of Henry VI; and it displays the extent and nature of the effects of an English gentleman of rank in the fifteenth century. Of money, in gold and silver coin, the amount is 2,643*l.* 10*s.*, a large portion of which was, for safety, deposited in the abbey of St. Bennett in the Holme; of plate, 13,400 oz. of silver in the castle, upwards of 3,000 oz. at the abbey, and more than 2,500 oz. removed from Norfolk to his town house in Bermondsey. Among the rare articles belonging to this division are, "a salt-saler like a bastall,<sup>2</sup> gilt with roses weiyng lxxvij *unc*<sup>s</sup>; another, "gilt with many windowes"; a spice plate of 110 oz., "well gilt like a double rose"; "four cuppes gilt like founteyns, with one columbine floure<sup>3</sup> enamelled in the myddes"; a flagon weighing 368 oz.; and "a payre of basyns, alle gilt, with an antelope<sup>4</sup> in the myddys". The chapel had suitable plate, costly and curious. The wardrobe is highly interesting, and gives to us a copious list of the various habits worn in Plantagenet times, and arranged under the divisions of *toga*, *tunica*, and *capucia*. "Clothis of Arras and tapstre worke" are in their subjects chiefly

<sup>1</sup> Vol. xix, pp. 239-272.

<sup>2</sup> A small tower.

<sup>3</sup> An emblem in the badge of the house of Lancaster and of Margaret of Anjou.

<sup>4</sup> Another emblem of the same.

familiar or romantic. The sports of the times, hawking, hunting, duck-shooting, etc., are exhibited; and there is a representation of the Siege of Falaise; a cloth of nine conquerors (the nine worthies); and "a geyaunt beryng the legge of a bere in his honde". There are also two pieces of tapestry, the subjects of which are scriptural, one the assumption, the other the adoration of the shepherds. The quantity of linen hoarded up in the "wardrop" was immense. The furniture is arranged according to the rooms, which, according to the inventory, were twenty-six in number, independently of the state apartments, chapel, and offices; and corresponds, of course, with the purposes to which they were devoted. Thus, in the steward's room, we have "three grate brass pottys of *Frenche* making, and 4 chafernes<sup>1</sup> of the French *gyse*<sup>2</sup> for sewys:<sup>3</sup> a fountayne of latyne<sup>4</sup> to sette in pottys of wine." Feather beds are found to have been in most rooms, even in that of the porter; so that luxuries were not wanting; but down pillows, and of lavender, are in all the principal ones, with the exception of the room of sir John Fastolfe. He enjoyed, however, a feather bed, and had blankets of fustian. The coverlet of the cook's bed was figured with roses and bloodhounds' heads. The armour was, as may be expected, abundant. Of wine there was but a small quantity, two pipes of red wine, and none other. There were gallon pots and pottles of leather, with "two grate and hoge botelles". In the cellar were also six "chacyd peecys gilt by the bordurys with the *towche of Parice*".

So multifarious were the articles of furniture to adorn this residence, that the owner obtained a license from the king to employ five vessels in bringing over the materials used in the erection and furnishing of the mansion, "pro expeditione operationum suarum ædificationis et *stuffiræ* hospitii sui".<sup>5</sup> Vanity of vanities, all is vanity. The whole have disappeared, and the building which contained these costly things is now but a ruin. The distinguishing characteristics of the remains are to be found in the elegance of proportion and the accuracy of the masonry. Mr. Turner particularises, as the most prominent feature of the dilapi-

<sup>1</sup> Saucepans.

<sup>2</sup> Fashion.

<sup>3</sup> Broth.

<sup>4</sup> Plate-tin, a mixed metal resembling brass, and having a golden colour.

<sup>5</sup> See Rymer's *Fœdera*, ix, 44.

dated castle, its "lofty cylindrical tower (ninety feet in height, and twenty-five feet in diameter), originally crowned by battlements, but now presenting an irregular and jagged outline against the sky."<sup>1</sup> It had originally five stories, as may be traced from the fireplaces, etc. There were one hundred and twenty-two stone steps forming a staircase to the turret, but many of these have been taken away. There was a hexagonal turret on the south-west side. The west front of one of the quadrangles is the part of the building in greatest entirety. The machicolations, and the shape of the windows, placed high up from the ground, display the nature of the architecture. The chief gateway is here to be seen, and presenting grotesque heads and necks, amidst stone brackets of a Romanesque character, shows rather a debased style. "The brick (Mr. Turner describes) which, with an intermixture of stone in the more ornamental portions, forms the material of the building, is close in its texture, and very pleasing in colour. The whole has acquired sobriety of hue by age; and though time and weather, and the yet more active injuries of man's destructive hand, have shattered the compact masonry, and produced long and gaping fissures, it still stands erect and graceful in decay, high raised above the meaner buildings which have grown out of its ruins, and the bare-headed trees not improbably its contemporaries."<sup>2</sup>

Probably the best idea we can form of the castle is to be obtained from an account written by Mr. Wm. Arderon, F.R.S., in a letter to Mr. Baker in the year 1751. "On the 17th of last April (he says) I went to see the ruins of sir John Falstaff's house, at Caister, near Yarmouth. This famous ancient building, when it was all standing, contained two large squares, whose sides were fifty-six yards each. They were both surrounded with a fosse or ditch, part of which is now open, and is about ten yards wide. These two squares were joined by a large drawbridge; but at this day it is quite demolished. The square on the east was surrounded with the offices, several of which are yet standing, besides part of two round towers at the north and south corners. The greatest part of the west front of the west square, as high as the first story, with the gate, is also standing; but what has remained the most entire, is the tower at the north corner of the above mentioned front,

<sup>1</sup> Sketch, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 6.



built of English brick. It is round on the outside, but a hexagon within. It is five stories high, with a mantelpiece in every story of freestone, as are also the transoms of the windows. The main bulks that go across the floors are still in being, and some of them very sound. By the side of this tower stands a pair of winding stairs, of one hundred and twenty-two steps, of seven inches each. On the north side of the west square are the remains of an arched cellar, of near thirty yards in length and about seven broad, so famous for keeping large quantities of sir John's *sack*."

In taking leave of this subject, permit me to say a few words in regard to an error very generally entertained with respect to the owner of the castle. Sir John Fastolfe has been looked upon and referred to as the original of Shakespeare's "Sweet Sir Jack". This has, however, been shown to be utterly void of foundation by our distinguished member Mr. J. O. Halliwell, whose intimate researches and acute criticisms in Shakespearian literature are well known to us all. That gentleman, in a little tract printed in 1841, has most distinctly shown that the character of Falstaff was originally written by our great dramatist under the name of sir John Oldecastle, and that the alteration of the name was occasioned by (it is said) a remonstrance on the part of queen Elizabeth, some members of the Oldecastle family being then in existence. Mr. Halliwell proves the tradition assigning sir John Fastolfe of Caister to the sir John Falstaff of Shakespeare to be of a date not earlier than the commencement of the eighteenth century. The characters of Fastolfe and Falstaff have no connexion with or similitude to each other, nor is there any evidence to sustain the position that Shakespeare even had the former in his memory when he substituted the name of the latter for that of Oldecastle. Sir John Fastolfe must not, therefore, be regarded as the prototype of the sir John Falstaff immortalized by the dramas of *Henry IV*, although it is remarkable that many authors<sup>1</sup> of distinguished reputation and ability have enter-

<sup>1</sup> As recently as 1841, Mr. Beltz, Lancaster herald, in his *Memorials of the Order of the Garter*, writes: "It has never been doubted that Shakespeare had in his recollection the exaggerated reports, both written and traditionary, of this incident (alluding to the flight at the battle of Patay), when, with a slight variation of the name of the gallant knight, he attributed cowardice as a prominent vice to one of the most ably drawn and consistent characters of his drama." (P. lxiv, note.)



tained and assisted to promulgate the opinion. It is unnecessary for me to pursue the subject further, though it leads to interesting researches connected with the historical plays of our immortal bard. To Mr. Halliwell's tract I must refer all who are desirous of satisfying any scruples they may entertain in the matter, and they will there find : 1. That the stage was in possession of a rude outline of Falstaff before Shakespeare wrote either part of *Henry IV*, under the name of sir John Oldecastle. 2. That the name of Oldecastle was retained for a time in Shakespeare's *Henry IV*, but changed to Falstaff before the play was printed. 3. That, in all probability, some of the theatres, in acting *Henry IV*, retained the name of Oldecastle after the author had made the alteration ; and 4. That Shakespeare probably made the change before the year 1593.<sup>1</sup>

Another point, however, of more serious import remains to be determined, in regard to one sir John Fastolfe, who is expressly mentioned by Shakespeare in the first part of *King Henry VI*. In act 1, scene 1, where the corpse of Henry V is represented lying in state and attended on by the dukes of Bedford, Gloucester and Exeter, the earl of Warwick, bishop of Winchester, heralds, etc., a messenger arrives with intelligence of the defeats sustained by the English in France, and in allusion to the battle of Patay, after eulogizing the valour of Talbot, subsequently the earl of Shrewsbury, is made to say :—

“Here had the conquest fully been seal'd up,  
If sir John Fastolfe had not play'd the coward ;  
He being in the vaward (plac'd behind,  
With purpose to relieve and follow them),  
Cowardly fled, not having struck one stroke.  
Hence grew the general wreck and massacre.”

And in act 1, scene 4, Talbot himself says :

“But, O ! the treacherous Fastolfe wounds my heart !  
Whom with my bare fists I would execute,  
If I now had him brought into my power.”

Again, in act 4, scene 1, Talbot addressing sir John,—

“Shame to the duke of Burgundy and thee !  
I vow'd, base knight, when I did meet thee next,

<sup>1</sup> “The Character of Sir John Falstaff as originally exhibited by Shakespeare in the two parts of *King Henry IV*.” By J. O. Halliwell. Lond., 1841, 12mo., p. 17.



To tear the garter from thy craven's leg (*plucking it off*),  
 (Which I have done) because unworthily  
 Thou wast installed in that high degree.—  
 Pardon me, princely Harry, and the rest :  
 This dastard, at the battle of Patay,  
 When but in all I was six thousand strong,  
 And that the French were almost ten to one,—  
 Before we met, or that a stroke were given,  
 Like to a trusty squire, did run away :  
 In which assault we lost twelve hundred men ;  
 Myself, and divers gentlemen beside,  
 Were there surpriz'd, and taken prisoners.  
 Then judge, great lords, if I have done amiss ;  
 Or whether that such cowards ought to wear  
 This ornament of knighthood, yea or no."

To which Gloucester responds :

"To say the truth, this act was infamous,  
 And ill beseeeming any common man ;  
 Much more a knight, a captain, and a leader."

And Talbot continues :

"When first this order was ordain'd, my lords,  
 Knights of the garter were of noble birth,  
 Valiant and virtuous, full of haughty courage ;  
 Such as were grown to credit by the wars ;  
 Not fearing death, nor shrinking for distress,  
 But always resolute in most extremes.  
 He then that is not furnish'd in this sort  
 Doth but usurp the sacred name of knight,  
 Profaning this most honourable order ;  
 And should (if I were worthy to be judge)  
 Be quite degraded, like a hedge-born swain  
 That doth presume to boast of gentle blood."

The king concludes with this denunciation :

"Stain to thy countrymen ! thou hear'st thy doom :  
 Be packing, therefore, thou that wast a knight ;  
 Henceforth we banish thee, on pain of death."

(*Exit FASTOLFE.*)

Theobald and other commentators and historical writers have expressed their anxiety to relieve sir John Falstaff from this imputation of cowardice, and the authority upon which the narration rests has been attempted to be put

aside. It is certainly our duty to weigh the evidence dispassionately, and to trace the statement from its first report. It originates with the French chronicler, Monstrelet, and appears in a very circumstantial relation, which is as follows :—"A la journée de la bataille de Patay, avant que les Anglois sussent la venue de leurs ennemis, messire Jean Fascot (Fastolfe), qui étoit un des principaux capitaines, et qui s'en étoit fui sans coup férir, s'assembla en conseil avecque les autres, et fit plusieurs remontrances : c'est à savoir, comment ils savoient la perte de leurs gens que les François avoient fait devant Orléans et Jargeau, et en aucuns autres lieux, pour lesquelles ils avoient du pire ; et étoient leurs gens moult ébahis et effrayés, et leurs ennemis, au contraire, étoient moult enorgueillis et résignés. Pourquoi il conseilla qu'ils se retrahissent aux châteaux et lieux tenant son parti à l'environ, et qu'ils ne combattissent point leurs ennemis si en hâte, jusques à ce qu'ils fussent mieux rassurés ; et aussi que leurs gens fussent venus d'Angleterre, que le régent devoit envoyer brièvement. Lesquelles remontrances ne furent point bien agréables à aucuns des capitaines, et par espécial à messire Jean de Talbot, et dit, que si ses ennemis venoient, qu'il les combattroit. Et par espécial, comme ledit Fascot (Fastolfe) s'en fuit de la bataille sans coup férir pour cette cause grandement lui fut reproché quand il vint devers le duc de Bedford, son seigneur ; et, en conclusion, lui fut ôté l'ordre du blanc jarretier, qu'il portoit entour la jambe. Mais depuis, tant en partie comme pour les dessusdites remontrances qu'il avoit faites, qui sembloient assez raisonnables, comme pour plusieurs autres excusances qu'il mit avant, lui fut, par sentence de procès, rebaillee ladite ordre de la jarretière, ja-soit-ce qu'il en sourdit grand débat depuis entre icelui Fascot et sire Jean de Talbot, quand il fut retourné d'être prisonnier de la bataille dessusdite. A cette besogne, furent faits chevaliers, de la partie des François, Jacques de Millz, Gilles de St. Simon, Louis de Marconmay, Jean de la Haie, et plusieurs vaillants hommes."<sup>1</sup>

The statement of Monstrelet was adopted by our English chroniclers and historians, Hall and Holinshed. The former says: "From this battail departed, without any stroke stricken, sir John Fastolfe, the same year for his valiauntnes elected

<sup>1</sup> Monstrelet, in "Buchon Collection des Chroniques Nationales Françaises." Paris, 1826, 8vo., tom. v, pp. 229-231, cap. lxi, lxii.

into the ordyre of the garter. For whiche cause the duke of Bedford, in a great anger, toke from hym the image of saint George and his garter; but afterward, by meane of frendes, and apparent causes of good excuse by hym alledged, he was restored to the order again, against the mynd of the lord Talbot.”<sup>1</sup>

And Holinshed’s *Chronicles* (Lond., 1804, vol. iii, p. 165): “From this battell departed without anie stroke stricken, sir John Fastolfe, the same yeare for his valiantnesse elected into the order of the garter. But for doubt of misdealing at this brunt the duke of Bedford tooke from him the image of St. George and his garter; though afterward, by meanes of freends & apparant causes of good excuse, the same were to him againe deliveryd, against the mind of the lord Talbot.”

Holinshed is known as the chronicler upon whom Shakespeare, in his historical plays, relied and followed. Monstrelet is unquestionably a good authority. He was descended from a noble family, a native of Picardy, born about 1390. He composed his history (commencing it in 1420) at Cambray, where he resided to the close of his life. He filled the office of lieutenant du gavenier of the Cambresis, and was collector of the dues payable to the duke of Burgundy. He was also bailiff to the chapter of Cambray, and afterwards became governor, remaining such until his decease in July 1453,<sup>2</sup> to which period he carries up his chronicle; and, according to the register of the Cordeliers, had the character of being “a very honourable and peaceable man.” Considering the times in which he lived, this is to be regarded as no mean praise. The first edition of his work was printed towards the close of the fifteenth century, without a date, in gothic type; the second appeared in 1518, in three volumes, folio; and the third in 1572. He has been much praised for his accuracy, his attention to minute details, and for giving his authorities, copies of edicts, etc. Had his book been one of fiction, or mere historical detail, it might not be regarded as of authority; but as a chronicle restricting the employment of the imagination, or the indulgence of any flight of fancy, it is entitled to more grave consideration.

<sup>1</sup> Hall’s Chronicle; Lond., 1809, p. 150. Henry VI.

<sup>2</sup> A contemporary, Jean le Robert, the abbé of St. Aubert, has given an account of his obsequies (20 July, 1453), which is curious, and may be seen copied into the *Biographie Universelle*, art. “Monstrelet.”



The battle of Pataye was fought in 1429, during the lifetime of Monstrelet. That the English sustained defeat is admitted by all, whether arising from the superstitious awe and dread connected with the generally received opinion in regard to the spiritual character or mysterious influence of Joan of Arc, or from inferior force, pusillanimity or cowardice on the part of the English troops, the fact is established. That it arose from the paucity of numbers and the dispirited condition of the army, would appear to be the case, from a very competent witness in the person of Waurin, seigneur de Forester, who formed one of the retinue of sir John Fastolfe, and whose manuscript *Chronique d'Angleterre* is in the Royal Library at Paris (No. 6,748). Mr. Beltz has referred to this manuscript, and the statement is as follows:

“That the English being besieged in Beaugency, Talbot found means to enter the town with forty lances and two hundred archers; and having alighted at his hotel, sir John Fastolfe, with sir Thomas Rempston and others, went to welcome him. After dinner they held a council of war, at which Fastolf (whom he describes as a most valiant and wise knight) expressed his opinion that, considering the present strength of the enemy, and the depressed state of the English from the losses sustained before Orleans, Gergeaux, and other places, they should allow the inhabitants of Beaugency to make the best terms they could with the French; and that the troops of the regent should await the reinforcement which he had promised to send, before they courted another conflict. This advice was not agreeable to his auditors, and especially to Talbot, who declared that, should even his numbers be limited to his own personal retinue, he was determined to make a sally from the gates, and rely upon the succour of God and St. George for the result. Fastolf again reminded the council that, if fortune should prove adverse, all the French conquests, achieved with so much labour by the late king, would infallibly be placed in extreme jeopardy; but, finding his remonstrances unheeded, he prepared for the conflict, and ordered the army to march out of the town, and to take the direct road to the neighbouring town of Meun. The French, composed of about six thousand men, under the command of the Maid of Orleans, the duke of Alençon, the Bastard of Orleans, the marshal de la Fayette, La Hise, Pothon, and other captains, observing

the approach of the English, formed in order of battle upon a small eminence. The English having also disposed themselves in battle array, sent two heralds to challenge the enemy to descend from their position; but were answered that, it being late, they might take their rest until the morrow. Whereupon the English proceeded to Meun for the night, and the French entered Beaugency. In the morning battle was joined on the field of Patay. The English were overpowered by numbers, and fled; and Fastolf, in the hearing of Waurin, the relator, was urged to save himself, as the day was entirely lost. He, however, desired, at all hazards, to renew the conflict, declaring his resolution to abide the issue, in whatever manner it might please God to order it, saying that he preferred death or capture to a disgraceful flight, and the abandonment of his remaining retinue. But having ascertained that Talbot was a prisoner, and all his people slain, and that two thousand of the English had fallen, and two hundred been made prisoners, he took the road towards Estampes,—and Waurin adds, ‘et moy, je le suivis.’

“On the day following the battle,” continues the historian, “news reached the duke of Bedford at Paris, of the defeat of his army, the capture of Talbot, and the flight of Fastolf, who was arrived at Corbeil. From thence, in a few days, he repaired to the regent at Paris, by whom he was sharply reprimanded, and deprived of the order of the garter which he wore. The duke having, however, afterwards received a report of the remonstrances made by our knight to his companions in the council, and other reasonable and approved excuses, the garter was, *par sentence de proces*, restored to him. Upon which account much dispute arose between him and the lord Talbot after the release of the latter from prison.”

This appears to me to be the true relation in regard to this affair; and sir John Fastolfe is, I think, justified by it. His character had ever been esteemed noble and valiant, learned and pious, generous and praiseworthy; and it appears to me incredible that any officer, however high his character or position, convicted of cowardice, and subjected to such indignity, could ever have sustained so great a shock to his reputation with impunity. For we find that in the succeeding year, 1430, sir John Fastolf was made lieutenant of Caen; that in 1432 he was selected to attend the regent

into France, and was sent ambassador to the council of Basle. So well did he acquit himself in these offices, that, in 1435, he was again employed to conclude a peace with France; and that the duke of Bedford, the regent of France, the uncle of the king (the person who, according to the chronicler, censured the knight for his cowardice), constituted him one of the executors of his will. Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, was no less sensible of his merits, and upon succeeding to the regency rewarded him with a pension of 20*l. per annum* “pro notabili et laudabili servitio ac bono consilio.” He then settles quietly in his government of Normandy for four years, when he returned to spend the remainder of his days in the enjoyment of his honours and estates. Now he builds his castle of Caister, and furnishes it in the manner we have recorded; and after a long life spent in the exercise of benevolence, he died at the age of eighty, bequeathing to the universities of Cambridge and Oxford large sums for the erection of schools of philosophy and law, and other munificent donations for the promotion of knowledge and religion; so extensive, indeed, that among the statutes of Magdalen college, Oxford, it was ordained that daily—

“The monks should sing, and the bells should toll,  
All for the weal of Fastolfe’s soul.”

Not the least remarkable circumstance connected with this singular history, is the omission of any entry on the records of the garter of the stated degradation; nor does Fastolfe appear to have been absent from the meetings of the chapter. He was elected a knight of the order, April 22, 1426; and according to the chapter book, died Nov. 5, 1460.

---

## ELY CATHEDRAL.

BY CHAS. E. DAVIS, ESQ.

PERSPICUOUS in the architecture of every period, but more especially in that of the middle ages, were two great elements more or less evident in the same work; for when one was not supreme, the other was. These were the classic or poetic, and the picturesque. In the tabernacles, chantry chapels, altars, and tombs, and buildings where the *petite* was most studied, you will always find the classic (doubtless the superior element) the ruling passion. The picturesque, which, when not carried to extreme, is perhaps as poetic as the other, is the most common attribute of Gothic architecture; so that many are induced to consider that Gothic could not be Gothic without a certain rudeness, which, however, is only the fruit of a too anxious desire for the picturesque. Our cathedrals and more extensive ecclesiastical buildings were erected under the direction of men whose minds were certainly much more cultivated than those of the people amongst whom they lived: their ideas were consequently more refined, and they were less liable to admire the coarse and vulgar than the common herd of their contemporaries. But as the accomplished writers of early times, including our great poets, wrote many things which the more civilized reader of a later time cannot but regret, so the architect's grotesque gurgoyles, bosses, misereres, capitals, etc., were made the means of communicating the rude passions and feelings, and the vulgar wit of the day.

It is not, however, of these small points of peculiarity I shall now speak, but more especially of the different general aspect of buildings. The poetic or classic, with minor exceptions, produces a building not devoid of the picturesque, but subordinates this latter element to a certain refinement that enchants even the most ignorant. The picturesque, on the other hand, prevails in a building where light and shade most vary the outline with breaks continuous and unequal, and an irregular sky-line; all of which contribute to produce the most pleasing effect, not at the same time devoid of some graces of refinement. The first quality was continued throughout the middle centuries, and reached its cul-



minating point in the renaissance; the second ran to seed in the grotesqueness of the Elizabethan style,—a style a perfect child of those manners and feelings whose heterogeneity and inconsistencies are so difficult to analyze or explain.

I will not trouble you with the history of Ely cathedral, farther than to say that the building was founded A.D. 673, by Etheldreda, wife of Egfrid, king of Northumberland, and daughter of the king of the East Angles; that two of the bishops of this diocese eventually became archbishops of Canterbury, and that one became a cardinal; that later, Goodrich, bishop of this see, assisted in compiling the Book of Common Prayer in 1543, and also translated St. John's Gospel according to the present version; and that still later, Turner, the friend of Ken, when bishop of Ely, was one of the non-juring bishops in William III's reign.

The church, from its original foundation, taking into consideration only so much of it as now stands, was originally designed, I have no doubt, nearly according to the present plan,—that is, so far as the arch which separates the choir from the presbytery, where the apse commenced. The style is now various; but I cannot but think the outline westward precisely in the main features the same as proposed by abbot Simeon, who was appointed by William I. The apse and choir, now gone, may have been completed by him; but I feel satisfied that the transepts bear every mark of his time (although they may not have been built before he was deprived, in 1102), as this part strikingly resembles that portion of Winchester cathedral ascribed to his brother, the bishop of that see.

The church originally consisted of an apse; a central tower, probably not reaching any very great elevation above the roof of the church; transepts with side aisles, a nave and aisles, and western transepts with tower.

To begin our observations from the western extremity. I remark it is plain the western transept formed a screen to hide the roof of the nave, as is the manner of the early German cathedrals; and it is probable that the western tower was carried up to the later alterations of the fifteenth century with that idea; but shortly subsequent to these erections it seems as if the intention of the original design was altered, and that it was then contemplated to build a nave

more westward, making the church into a double cross in plan, as at Salisbury. To carry out this deviation, the four pointed arches enriched with the transitional zig-zag were inserted under the tower, replacing, probably, arches that formerly existed of a less height, but which, doubtless, on three sides were somewhat like the arches to the nave, forming a triforium arrangement across, in the same way as in some of the churches of the south of France of this date.

I am inclined to believe that there was a western entrance, as the entrances in the Norman style now existing were not certainly sufficiently important to satisfy all the requirements of such a building; and that this entrance was from a porch or galilee, or possibly from an atrium,—a feature adopted from the south of Europe. The galilee of Durham has more the impress of an atrium upon it than any other entrance to a cathedral in England; and this porch to Ely may very possibly have been designed even more in accordance with the idea of what was a suitable entrance to a cathedral in Italy, where was retained the open court or atrium, as attached to the ancient basilicas, which were universally converted into churches. Certainly at Ely, if the entrance was a porch, that porch could not have exceeded the width of the tower, as there are no marks in the western wall of the transept that could at all justify the belief in a larger porch. The entrance, however, might still have been from a court partially covered; of which idea I cannot entirely divest myself, as the screen-entrance western fronts of Germany, to which this bears so great a resemblance, without doubt originated from the adoption of the atrium. The generally foreign aspect of the early portion of this cathedral, of which I will presently speak, inclines me to believe that the open court of warmer climates, although generally abandoned in England, might have been proposed when the original design for this building was made. The galilee of Durham is to all intents a covered atrium; and I have little doubt that the chapel of Joseph of Arimathea at Glastonbury (which was visited by the Association in 1856) may have at one time served the purpose of an atrium or galilee to that abbey, as the doorways, of which there are two (north and south) are certainly out of proportion to the requirements of so small a chapel, were it not intended they should form the entrance to the church.

It is difficult, however, now to decide how the church was formerly entered, as the arches in the tower are most certainly not of a piece with the superstructure, nor do they at all assist the design of the present galilee. They are too lofty for it on the one hand; nor are they of the date of that which they support. I have not the smallest doubt that these arches were inserted with the idea of lengthening the cathedral considerably westward, and that in doing so the foundations of the tower were weakened, so that it became necessary, after the lapse of two hundred years (according to Bentham) to enlarge and increase the columns as we now see them,—a work which was commenced in 1406. This weakness in the piers was not in consequence, I am inclined to think, of the erection of the present octagon (on the western tower), but from the displacement of the more powerful piers.

Bentham<sup>1</sup> mentions the building of the octagon as added about 1380; but he also<sup>2</sup> states it to have been built in the reign of Henry VI; which latter statement would prove that the heightening of the tower certainly had nothing at all to do with the weakening of the building, as it must have been strengthened previously. The style of the upper lantern certainly belongs to a later date than the tower arches, as they are bold and well designed, whilst the lantern, though exceedingly picturesque, cannot be considered as the erection of so good a period,—indeed, were it not for the tracery of the windows, I should be inclined, from the mouldings and the contour of its detail, to assign it to a date nearer the debasement of the Gothic style.

After the insertion of the first three arches, the idea evidently was abandoned of lengthening the church, and the western arch was partially walled up, and made only to communicate with the present beautiful galilee, which is said to have been completed, in 1215, by bishop Eustachius. This galilee is of two stories; the lower is the entrance, and the upper, lighted by three lancet windows, was formerly a gallery, which looked eastward into the church, where is now placed a modern perpendicular window, but which doubtless was open to the arch, as across it, when the later arches were built, a perforated balcony was placed. The

<sup>1</sup> History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Ely, p. 286.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 148.





shell only of the upper story now exists, for the original roof has been removed, and replaced immediately above the groining of the entrance.

The whole exterior of the galilee is enriched by four tiers of arcades stretching over the three sides, excepting only the three-light window and the entrance. They are all beautifully proportioned and well moulded, enriched with all the decorations of the style; the carving, including the capitals, which are without exception foliated, being of the most exquisite execution. The arches to the side arcades on the lower stages are not foliated; but those in the front, and on the upper stages, are cinquefoiled. The poorest part of this galilee are the angular buttresses, which are like a bundle of columns tied together occasionally by the string-courses; and although more elaborate than that of the simple buttress of the style, the design is poor, and destroys much of the beauty that this building would otherwise have. I cannot account for this (in my opinion, mal-design) except on the supposition that this galilee was built in the hope of harmonizing better with the Norman screen. Certain it is, that although, as to form, this galilee is inferior in general outline to that of Salisbury, and perhaps of Wells (in the same style), no improvement can be suggested when the *tout ensemble* is considered. The entrance to the porch—which, I should mention, is not square with the cathedral, but slopes northward at the western angle—is by a most exquisite doorway, in two divisions, under one arch, supported by a central four-centred column. The area, or tympanum, above these two arches, which are most admirably foiled and moulded, was formerly filled with stone, which may have been enriched by a sunk panel. A tabernacle for the statue of St. Etheldreda, St. Mary, St. Peter, or other saint, is now occupied by some decorated tracery not in accordance with the design of the other part; but which, whether of modern or fourteenth century date, is strictly in harmony with the whole.

The galilee itself is of two bays, the groining springing from four detached columns which bisect each side; each of which being divided into two tiers (the upper taking the form of the arching ribs) has a screen of six detached columns supporting foiled arches, stilted or not, according to the form of the enclosing arch. The lower tier is divided by three



trefoiled arches beautifully moulded, and the hollows filled with the dog-tooth ornament. The columns supporting them spring from the stone seat; but the groining of the recesses is supported by columns which fill the centre of every opening, and rest upon an upper string-course or shelf that at one time, without much doubt, contained sculpture,—as, indeed, did also the recesses above.

The entrance to the church corresponds precisely with that to the galilee, except that it is adapted to receive a door, and that the arches themselves are a trifle richer than the inner arches, being also more foiled. The same alteration has been made in the tympanum as has been made to the outer doorway. Through this door you enter at once the tower, which till lately was hidden by a lath-and-plaster groin, happily removed. The tower is arcaded, and is principally lighted by eight windows in the upper story, the recesses to which are so deep that only a portion of the upper part can be seen.

Of the western transepts, that to the south remains; the northern one, together with an eastern apsidal chapel, having perished. It is singular that there is no record of the demolition of this important part of the cathedral, which bears in its ruins every mark of being strictly a reproduction of the transept to the south. Certain, however, it is that its fall was occasioned, not as usually stated, from the irregular settlement of the tower, but from its own decay; from bad foundation or other causes, or from violent storm or accident, which the main tower resisted. It is difficult to assign a date to the misfortune that prevented the façade of Ely being the finest of its style existing; but I am led to believe, in the first place, that it was subsequent to the building of the arches of the tower, or even of the erection of the upper octagon, as there is an arch communicating with the north aisle of apparently as late or even later date than either the piers or lantern. The fact of the existence of this arch to the north aisle would be no argument in support of my theory of the fall of this part having taken place subsequent to its insertion, but for the fact that the fall destroyed so much of the building to the west that it was found necessary to build a large buttress to support the tower; and they would therefore have scarcely weakened the remaining ruined wall by an archway, but rather have built an entire

new wall. The buttress also that was built bears upon the enriched panelling at its base every appearance of being a more recent erection, the arches being of a date certainly late in the Perpendicular period.<sup>1</sup>

The transept that remains has been lately restored to what was probably its original purpose, namely, that of a baptistery,—a font having been erected of a style to accord with the transept, which is the most beautiful portion of the Norman interior. The transept is peculiar, perhaps, in itself, as although it bears the impress of uniformity at first sight, a close examination discloses its varieties; harmonizing, however, with each other, evidently the result of one design, which it was not thought necessary strictly to carry out in every particular. The arches eastward are very fine, the one towards the tower having a flat soffit to the central portion, the other having a round; both are enriched with the surface zig-zag, generally considered an early form of that ornament. The arcades above are somewhat like those of the nave.

From the transept, projecting eastward, is a small apsidal chapel, lately restored, said to be St. Catherine's chapel. It is a very pretty little sanctuary, and forms, with the transept, a singularly interesting portion of this most interesting cathedral. The restoration of this chapel so exactly matches the old work in the interior that it would be exceedingly difficult to ascertain if it were not the original, had the builders not neglected to copy the almost invariable practice of mediæval workmen, of omitting the keystone, whether in circular or pointed arches, and supplying its position with a vertical joint between the two crowning voussoirs of the arch. I should mention that, forming a part of the southern pier of the arch to this chapel, which forms the base of the apse, is, about three feet from the floor, a mutilated block of stone, the former credence table.

The transept is at present roofed and framed with horizontal heavily-moulded braces with square panels. I think these cannot be original,<sup>2</sup> as I have little doubt the transept, and perhaps the nave, were in the first place roofed upon

<sup>1</sup> The panelling at the base corresponds with that on the monument of bishop Redman, who died 1505; so that this fact may probably give a date to the fall of the northern transept.

<sup>2</sup> On the exterior is a mark of the former roof, which was much more elevated than at present.

tie-beams, knee-trusses resting on the semicircular shafts which run from the floor; these in the transepts terminate in square capitals, and were intended certainly for a framing much more bulky than that at present existing.

The nave of twelve bays, shortened one bay from its original length upon the building of the central lantern, is flanked on either side by groined side aisles, the lower divisions of the side walls of which are simply arcaded, as originally designed. The windows to each bay of aisles were in the first place single circular lights, having square jambs, with an internal attached column supporting a plain soffited arch flush with the jamb, the exterior double recessed, with an attached column and billet-moulded jamb and hood. Those to the south have been restored, but those in the north are still in form as they were altered and enriched by tracery. I think it would be unwise to disturb these windows, as the gradations of styles of different centuries teach us the varied feelings of those times; to destroy their work, unless erected to the extreme detriment of some much richer and more ancient treasure would tend to isolate the architecture of the first eras, and to cut away those connecting links—"bound each to each by natural piety"—by which we can now with certainty retrace step by step the handiwork of each generation—backward from our own day to the Norman and the earliest styles—from the work of yesterday at Sydenham to the chapel in the Tower of London.

The *coup-d'œil* of the cathedral looking towards the choir is, perhaps, as fine, or even finer, than in any other cathedral I have visited, but the building wants that severity and massiveness common to the Norman to be seen in the cathedrals of Durham, Norwich, Gloucester, or even in the collegiate church of Tewkesbury. It seems evident that the architect, in designing Ely in its earliest styles, aimed at the refinement I have previously spoken of, avoiding as much as possible the Grotesque. A great deal was gained in the after-building of the cathedral from the cue thus given, as it must be apparent, even to the most cursory observer, that the various styles of architecture subservient to the cathedral of Ely are, each of their period, singularly refined and studied; and I can only account for their being so, by supposing that the early refined Norman taught the



builder in the Early English period the propriety of the same course, and that this style, as the previous one, stimulated its successors in the same direction.

The nave and arches, said to have been built, according to Mr. Sharpe, in 1130 (by Bentham, in 1174, who I am inclined to think was in error), are of three stages ; the first consists of semicircular arches of very small span, upon piers, and these, contrary to the appearance of early Norman in every other particular, are rather late in character, not being the simple ponderous shaft, but a series of partial columns, which produces an unusual rectilinear effect, more common to a later style. The arches themselves are stilted, and some even assume somewhat of the horse-shoe form. Above these arches is the open arcade of the triforium, which is rather lofty, and unusually light. This last may be owing to the insertion of the Perpendicular windows, which supply the place of the single lights. The arches of the triforium are stilted, as below, and each arch again is divided by a single shaft, supporting two smaller arches. In the clerestory each division is lighted by single lights, behind an arcade of three arches. Throughout each bay there is a great want of enrichment, none being even attempted save in the string courses. The design of this nave goes far to convince me that there was in England an almost uniform style of Anglo-Norman contemporaneous with the Conquest, and that native artists still continued, even after, to design and direct our buildings, and that their erections were the grand Norman architecture which we have at Durham ; but here at Ely, I have no doubt a foreign element was introduced, as this Norman bears a very strong resemblance to the sister churches of Caen, retaining, at the same time, the simplicity common to the bolder architecture of the same date in England.

In the south aisle, four bays from the west, is an entrance to the now ruined cloister, which, on its first foundation, extended from the south transept westward eight bays, bringing the return of the square immediately opposite this entrance which fronted the (?) western side of the cloister stretching towards the present deanery. The Norman cloister was arcaded against the wall of the church, and this arcade singularly enough, was not destroyed when the cloister was enlarged and rebuilt in the Perpendicular pe-



riod, as this portion was never vaulted, to avoid, perhaps, the destruction of the arcade. When the cloister was rebuilt, another bay was taken in westward, and this side is vaulted with fan tracery, two shafts and the commencement of the vaulting of the tracery still remaining against the wall of the church. The doorway from the cloister is now known as the Prior's entrance: it is inserted in the wall through a portion of the arcade, with which it does not in any way accord. I am inclined to think that this doorway and the one I shall presently describe entering the cloister more eastward, were removed from some other buildings, and re-erected in the places where they now are at some very early period; probably upon the building of the first cloister. The carving of the prior's entrance is exceedingly rich, occupying all available space, the whole of the imposts, arch mouldings, and capitals being thickly sculptured with interlaced carving. Each jamb contains a column attached to the inner angle, the front face of the jamb projecting to form a pilaster, each of which is carved into a series of medallions; the western one containing figures of animals, with that of a man in the upper compartment; the other, representations of men and women playing on different instruments, or otherwise enjoying themselves, one turning head over heels in the exuberance of pleasure; another engaged in giving a token of affection to what we will assume is a lady of the time. Surrounding these medallions, but occupying a space beneath the capitals, is the elevation of a castellated gateway; that on the right hand being curtailed of its roof, to admit (as I suppose) its insertion in the situation in which it is now found. The columns, as is frequent in Byzantine architecture, but rare in Norman, rest upon the figures of some animals now too much mutilated for me to describe. The tympanum of the doorway is sculptured in tolerable relief with the figure of our Lord within a *vesica piscis*, supported by two angels sitting, holding an open book, surmounted by a cross, in his left hand; his right being elevated in the act of benediction. The other doorway, which I previously referred to, leads direct into the eastern side of the cloister from the cathedral against the wall of the transept: it is of corresponding work with the other, but I think scarcely so beautiful, although of more complicated design, the surface decoration being not

quite so elaborate or so universal. It has the addition of another column on the impost, and the tympanum is cut away into a foliated head. At first sight, it seems difficult to recognise this form as the original design, but on examination, I have no doubt of it.

At the junction of the nave and transept stood a Norman tower, which probably, as usual in that style and situation, was scarcely elevated above the ridge of the roof; but this falling in 1322, and destroying with it the whole of the eastern portion of the original church, the present lantern was commenced during the time of bishop Hotham, under the direction of Walsingham, the sub-prior. In itself it is almost unique, there being, I think, no other example except at the monastery of Batalha in Portugal. This octagon is admirably designed: an area is given by making the width of the nave and aisles form the diameter, and the arches of central aisles the width of the arches of the octagon, so that there is no interruption to the view either looking north and south or east and west. The arches to the four lesser sides of the octagon are about the height of those of the side aisles, with which they amalgamate, as it were, by an angular groin, rendering this portion of the cathedral (?) a solid abutment to the octagon. On the exterior, from each of the inner angles formed by the walls of nave, chancel, and transepts, spring two massive flying buttresses, abutting upon octagonal turrets at each angle of the lantern. These turrets were originally designed to be pinnaced, but none of them ascend higher than the parapets. This point is rather above the main roofs, and so far the octagon is of stone, but above this the lantern is continued in wood. From the pinnacles being incomplete, and from the fact of their large size, and the well-balanced and massive substructure, I am led to suppose that it was first intended to construct the upper lantern also of stone, and to support it in part by flying buttresses from the angular turrets, they being carried up, to resist the thrust, considerably higher. Whether this design was abandoned from fear of the experiment or from want of means, I am at a loss to say, but I think a careful examination would at once determine that even now it would be no difficult matter to build the whole in more durable materials. The four windows that light the lower part of the octagon are each of four lights of good general

form, but the tracery is scarcely so well balanced as some of the other windows of the style in the cathedral.

Beneath each window are three tabernacles resting on a string-course. They are rather deficient in ornament, but were probably designed to assimilate with the arch beneath, which it was found necessary to dwarf in order to accord with the arches of the side aisles. The vaulting shafts of the octagon spring from the floor in each angle, but are interrupted in their passage by a rather singular design, which is bracketed from them on a corbel; the eight corbels containing representations, according to Bentham and Millers, of scenes in the life of St. Etheldreda, commencing at the right side of the west arch,—her reluctant marriage with Egfrid; her taking the veil; her pilgrim's staff taking root whilst she slept; her preservation, with her virgins, by a miraculous inundation; her installation as abbess of Ely; her death and burial; a tale of her miraculous power after she was canonized; and the translation of her body. These eight corbels support what at first sight appears to have been a tabernacle, as there is no niche for a statue. I fancy they are merely an architectural composition, placed here to break what the architect might have feared was rather too great a preponderance of vertical lines. The lantern is contracted, above the four windows and the four arches, to the transepts, nave, and choir, by wooden groining simply ribbed from the springers, without any cross ribs; a beautiful, graceful line conducting the eye to the upper lantern, thirty feet in diameter, which ascends some height in simple paneling, unenriched by anything save foiling at the heads. At this point projects a slight gallery; and above, the whole is lighted by eight windows, the ceiling being groined to correspond with that beneath. This upper work, although in a great measure the original, still, from its perishable materials, cannot fail to have once, if not oftener, required considerable renovation; and this has not proved of advantage to the design. The lantern, however, as far as the interior is concerned, has not been much damaged; but on the exterior it bears every impress of repairs which might have been superintended, if one may judge from the style, by the distinguished Beatty Langley. Too much praise cannot be given to prior Walsingham for so beautiful a feature of the cathedral, although I am doubtful if it does not appear what



it really is not,—stone rather than wood; and as the beauty of all Gothic is its truth, I hesitate to award unqualified praise. But if carried out, as I fully believe it was intended, in stone, this beautiful central tower could not possibly incur a word of disfavour even from the most fastidious critic.

The south and north transepts are now all that remain of that which was first commenced by Simeon in 1081, and are in plan similar to each other, with side aisles, like the aisles to the nave; but the details of the arches on the south are much the simpler. There were, before the destruction of one arch by the building of the octagon, four arches on each side; two piers to each side were plain cylindrical, the other clustered, as those of the nave, only more simply. The capitals are more decorated than the nave, but the decoration itself is merely a slight volute at the angles; the arches they support are quite devoid of any ornament. The triforium and clerestory to each transept deviates very little from those of the nave, with which it seems to have been built, together with a gallery across either end, and an arcade dividing off the western aisle of the south transept. The eastern aisle, early in this century, was divided off to form the library; these three bays, now lighted each by two-light Early English windows containing a quatrefoil in the head, probably were the eastern windows of three chapels, as the same divisions on the other side seem also to have been thus appropriated. In the centre of this transept are the remains of the paving, laid in geometric forms of various colours, removed from the gallery to the Lady chapel. The roofs to each transept correspond: they are very beautiful specimens of a hammer-beam roof, with angels at the head of the beams. The work bears every appearance of the Perpendicular style; but I think rather before than coeval with the windows of the same style in the gables, as they are inserted considerably above the timberings: which, had the roof been fixed after, could scarcely have been the case. The roofs have been beautifully decorated: that on the south transept has been restored, and the north is now undergoing repair.

From the lantern we arrive at the three bays, built by Walsingham, with the lantern. These three bays mark the extent of the old church, which reached to the pier, now remaining (between this work and the six bays of presbytery), and this formed the base of the apse. This is only original



as far as the capital that was added in 1235. These three decorated bays are, as a whole, unequalled by any other decorated work of the class in the kingdom. The arches are all well formed, and gradually conduct the design into the next stage, the triforium, with a rather less interruption than is common to the style. The triforium arches are filled with the best designed tracery I ever saw: the tracery itself does not seem, however, to have been sufficient to satisfy the anxieties of the architect, for he has still further enriched his design with numberless ball-flowers throughout the varied lines of the tracery and arch mouldings. After these beauties, it seems the architect had in a great measure exhausted his powers, for the clerestory windows do not in any degree approach the design of the triforium; in fact, they are singularly poor. The groining is simple, but the bosses are good. All the shafts, and a great many of the capitals and prominent mouldings are executed in Purbeck marble, which has lately been polished. The northern aisle, forming at one time a sort of ante-chapel to the Lady chapel, or as it is now called Trinity church, is built of a richness to correspond with the choir, but the southern aisle is plainer, including also, strange to say, a portion of the arches of the choir. The beautiful oak stalls, of about the middle of the fourteenth century, which now occupy the area enclosed by these three bays, were originally more westward under the octagon, and were more recently to the very east of the church. The stalls themselves are exceedingly good specimens of the Decorated, although they do not possess the richness to be seen in later work. The carved work is cut off half way up by a series of foliated arches, and by a horizontal break for the reception of sculptured figures not now existing, but which once no doubt occupied the vacancy which is now capped by crocketed pinnacles. The whole of this has been placed in its present position, and adapted, together with much new work, with considerable taste, but we may perhaps venture to object to the scroll-form desk terminations, which seem scarcely severe enough in form to harmonise with the rest. Beyond the original cathedral, but occupying a portion of the apse, and also of the chevet, if there was one, is perhaps the gem of the whole cathedral, the presbytery of six bays, of the Early English style, commenced in the year 1235, completed 1251. The arches are



very numerous moulded, and project considerably at their springings beyond the face of the clustered column: this projection is still more increased by a detached column being trussed out upon an elegantly carved bracket *immediately above the columns, of the aisles*, and which is continued up to form a vaulting column of the roof. The triforium is a *piquant* bit of this style of architecture, but it is nothing in actual description, as it is merely the simple form of two trefoiled arches supported on a slender column, comprised in an equilateral arch, the tympanum being enriched by another foliation. The columns of the comprising arch are well and beautifully recessed, the hollows decorated with a crisp foliage, which runs also in the arch. The clerestory is a triplet. The escoinson arch is distinct from the window arch, and is supported on columns, admitting a passage behind. These arches are not foiled, but they scarcely seem deficient in enrichment, their outline being so perfect. The accomplished critic would feel his inability to give a really unbiassed opinion as to which he considered the most exquisite compartment of this cathedral: his mind, I am sure, would vacillate between the gorgeousness of the Decorated part and the elegance of the Early English.

The whole of the presbytery, together with its side aisles, were formerly built in the same style, but from various causes a part of the triforium has been altered, the windows and side walls of the aisles have been renewed, and the windows inserted in the triforium in decorated times; but all these alterations, although giving an interest to the building, were not carried out with the judgment to be wished, nor with the taste displayed in the building of the choir.

Three lancet windows that close the view to the east, and the five-light windows above, are very similar to the east end of several of the fine buildings of Yorkshire; and if my memory serves me correctly, there is a great resemblance between this one and the east elevation of Whitby abbey. The arches on either side the triforium and clerestory are carried out in their full integrity; nothing seems misplaced or ill balanced, and all is equally decorated, light, and elegant.

The variety of tints, produced by the employment of Purbeck marble and freestone, is more applicable to this style than any that succeeded it, and is here made use of wherever the circumstances seemed to require.

In the easternmost bay of the north aisle of the presbytery is bishop Alecock's chapel, an insertion of thoroughly over-loaded work. The screen work consists of nothing but tabernacles, that, in spite of their laced surface, are exceedingly heavy and crude. I am at a loss to account for so ill a piece of work, more especially as the commencement, as far as the base of the tabernacles, promised so well, and is in such good keeping in every respect, that the failure, when the work should have been progressively improving, is not to be accounted for, except by the supposition that the lower part was completed under the immediate superintendence of the bishop, who was the comptroller of the works to Henry VII, and that it was not completed until after his death.

In the opposite bay is the chapel of bishop West, entered by very good iron gates. This chapel is a most exquisite piece of work : it is most delicately executed, and well conceived in every particular, and although it embraces in its details and designs much of a foreign element, in fact, the Renaissance, it is so incorporated with our English Gothic, that it causes no regret at its intrusion. The whole is most elaborately tabernacled with details exceedingly *petite* and beautiful. The tabernacle work covers the south window, admitting the light only through its perforations, and formerly through the arch above the tomb of the founder ; but this has been filled with some earlier panelled work, inclosing the remains of seven early saints. The eastern window is left quite open, under which formerly stood the altar, but this has been removed, and of late years an ambitious Gothic tomb has been placed in its stead,—a sad intrusion. The ceiling is groined, and is of a bolder character than the tabernacles : the ribs are deep and foliated, and the panels formed by the tracery, enriched by beautiful and delicately raised sculpture. It may safely be said that this most charming chapel fully deserves a careful restoration ; but so much of the smaller work has perished, together with the figures that filled the tabernacles and other spaces, that it is to be feared a faithful restoration is scarcely to be attempted.

Trinity church, the original Lady chapel, I at first supposed, from its position on the north side of the cathedral, to have been the chapter-house ; but I am satisfied, upon examination, that this building never was used as such, al-

though I think it very probable that the arrangement of the stalls was at first designed for that purpose. The Lady chapel, commenced 1321, runs parallel with the cathedral, joining it only at the extreme eastern angle of the north transept, from which it is now entered by a more recent covered passage, and by a door cut through the back of the stalls. The most beautiful enriched canopy goes round entirely through three sides of the chapel, and across the eastern end also, with the exception of that part which has formed the reredos, which is in a different and later style than the other, and is evidently an insertion. It seems singular that the most important part of the chapel should have been neglected when it was first founded, and it is this fact, among many others, that rather inclines me to believe that this building was originally not intended for devotion ; at the same time I am quite sure the beautiful stall-work on each side the altar, forming a continuation of the reredos, was never intended for seats, but was for tabernacles to receive statues. Again, right and left are the remains of the Purbeck shelves, marking the piscina and credence table ; and the stalls, as they approach the altar, are raised one above the other as *sedilia*. The chapel is of five bays, beautifully vaulted in a Transitional style, which advances from the later groining to the later fan tracery vault. The windows on each side are well traceried, all alike ; but the eastern ones would seem to approach in style the Perpendicular : at the same time I do not imagine they are insertions. This almost unrivalled chapel, strange to say, has no marked entrance from without ; the present one is of later time, nor do I see any way by which the laity could formerly have been admitted. I therefore suppose they must have been entirely excluded from service here. The monks had two entrances on the southern side, through arches similar to those of the stalls, but to be detected by a recessed arch and capital. Direct from these doors ran a groined cloister, not now existing, in an oblique direction to the third bay eastward, of the Decorated north aisle of the cathedral, where is a most beautiful doorway in a later style than the chapel. By this we now re-enter the cathedral.

In the westward bay of this aisle is an archway about six feet from the ground, the window being contracted to receive it, and beneath are two springers for a vault. This



marks the position of the former high altar, this doorway having led by a raised and covered passage from the Lady chapel across the aisle direct to the rood in the cathedral.

In 1770, the old reredos was taken down from its original position one bay east of octagon, without a single fragment being preserved, the choir being removed to the eastern end of the cathedral. I have no doubt the reredos was sadly mutilated previously, but it is matter of much regret that this alteration took place, as the work of this altar and screen doubtless assimilated with the stall-work in the Lady chapel, as they were almost contemporary. Although in examining the work in the Lady chapel, it is difficult to imagine anything much richer; still I think I may venture to assert that, although this altar was in the same style, it must have been, from its more sacred position, still more enriched and beautiful.

It is generally said that the bishop of this diocese had no throne, and that he occupied the seat formerly assigned to the abbot; but I am somewhat inclined to doubt this assertion, as the first pier of the choir on the south side at the point that supports the groining is encircled by way of capital by a stone canopy: this certainly was intended as a finish to some spirelet canopy work, which must have been of very considerable height, and consequently much too considerable for the canopy of a sedilia or stall, but appropriate as the canopy of a throne.

At the focus of the apse stood formerly the shrine of Etheldreda, now only known from ancient writings, as its costly jewelled and enamelled work formed too great a bait for the sixteenth century fanatics to withstand. North and south of the shrine, the roofs of the aisles were lowered to the length of one bay, and the early English triforium arches destroyed, and supplied with poor decorated windows: this was done to let in a flood of light from these points upon the shrine, where rested the body of one famous in early times as a princess, a queen, an abbess, and a strict and bountiful supporter of all that was good, upright, and generous; to whom we are indebted also for the foundation of this conventual establishment, the nursery for twelve hundred years of so many of the great and good, and to whose honour and for the glory of God, England, perhaps, boasts her first cathedral raised in early times apart from

the more frequented haunts of men, in an island, not surrounded even by the turmoil of a boisterous sea, but situated in a lagoon of still and untroubled waters, that rather served to render more isolated the residence of the recluse, who read and studied how best upon so narrow a spot to glorify his Lord and his religion.

In passing from the contemplation of the architecture of the past, I should wish to draw attention to the way in which it has been restored, under the untiring influence of the very rev. the dean Peacock. For whether we commence at the most simple and least important feature restored, or at the grander parts, we must all allow that the greatest and most religious care has been shown for that which has been spared us. The cathedral, standing, as it must always have done, almost pre-eminent, is still more enriched, not only by the manner in which it has been restored, but by the very judicious way in which that which is new has been introduced (with the exception, perhaps, of the design of the organ, on which there may be many differences of opinion). The screen, in beauty of design, is almost unrivalled by any ancient work: no one, upon looking at this, whether taking into consideration its detail or its original conception, can doubt that there are architects in these days fully equal to any work.

Mr. Gilbert Scott, as the architect of Ely, deserves all praise; for were he not indebted to other works, this work is alone sufficient to hand his name down to posterity as a true and perfect proficient in his art. It is to such men that we can without doubt commit the care of those glorious structures erected by our forefathers, not we will say with mistaken zeal, but with that poetry and sentiment that they unmistakably but mysteriously conveyed to their work that still communicates itself to even the most ignorant, but which, to the impassioned and ardent admirer of architecture, occasionally blinds his judgment, and leads him to revere when he should only admire, analyse, and study.

## ROMANO-BRITISH ANTIQUITIES IN BRONZE FOUND IN THE PARISH OF MARDEN, KENT.

BY THE REV. BEALE POSTE.

THE antiquities here described were obtained from the weald of Kent, a district where but few Roman remains are usually discovered. For one exception : an urn of the sepulchral class was dug up about two years since at Hunton, in the part of the parish within the weald, and exhibited to our Society at the time, having been forwarded by our associate, Robert Golding, esq., a resident of the place.<sup>1</sup> Another instance was likewise afforded a few years since by the discovery of a coin of the empress Faustina, which was found near the ancient mansion of Romden in Smarden, in grubbing up a hedge : but besides these two instances, there is an almost entire absence of any objects coming to light connected with the conquerors of the world in this locality, who held our island for above four hundred years. In the present case there is, however, a very notable exception ; an urn dug up in January last, in making a drain at a farm called the “ Haye” or “ Hayeden” in Marden parish, about a quarter of a mile from the junction of the two tributary streams to the Medway, the rivers Buelth and Teise, on land belonging to and occupied by Mr. Moren. The urn and its contents fortunately came into the possession of the same gentleman as before, Mr. Golding, who now submits them to the inspection of the Association ; but in regard to the urn, only some fragments are sent up ; as the finding of it being unexpected, it was pretty much broken to pieces.

The contents of the urn are very remarkable, and we may at once pronounce them not sepulchral, as there were no bones, calcined, or otherwise, in this repository ; nor are sepulchral urns accustomed to be filled with such numerous objects as this contained. If not a sepulchral urn, what was it then ? Why obviously the hoard of some Roman fugitive ; of some Roman slave, perhaps, who, having escaped from one of the various Roman villas or villages in the upper country, had descended into this locality ; then a dense

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal*, vol. xii, for 1856, p. 235.

forest, as its name implies, and deposited here his treasure, near the junction of the two rivers. The depositor, we may add, must afterwards have met his fate; or, possibly, not have sufficiently recollected the place to be able to ascertain it again: for this find shews that he never removed it: nor, indeed, did any one else, till it was dug up a few weeks since by Mr. Moren's labourer. We will now, before going into details, give a general statement of the contents.

Class I. Bronze objects whose use can be ascertained, and which are in tolerable preservation: in weight (avoirdupoise) 1 lb. 3 oz.

Class II. Bronze objects whose use can be ascertained, which are much distorted by oxidation, and only with difficulty recognizable: in weight, 2 lbs. 12 oz.

Class III. Bronze objects too much oxidized to be recognizable, and in some cases several of them joined together, in other cases broken to pieces. Equal in weight to about  $6\frac{1}{2}$  lbs.

This will give a general idea. Now for the details.

Class I, No. 1. A bronze knife-blade, five inches and a quarter long, and in good preservation. It has a stud at the end, by which it was fixed into a handle. See pl. 13, fig. 1.

No. 2. Six bronze rings, perfect. Their respective diameters are as follows: viz. Two, one inch and five-eighths. One, one inch and nine-sixteenths. One, one inch and three-quarters. One, one inch and eleven-sixteenths. One, one inch and one-eighth: and their respective weights: Two, nearly averaging three quarters of an ounce each. Three, averaging a sixth of an ounce each. One, 109 grs.

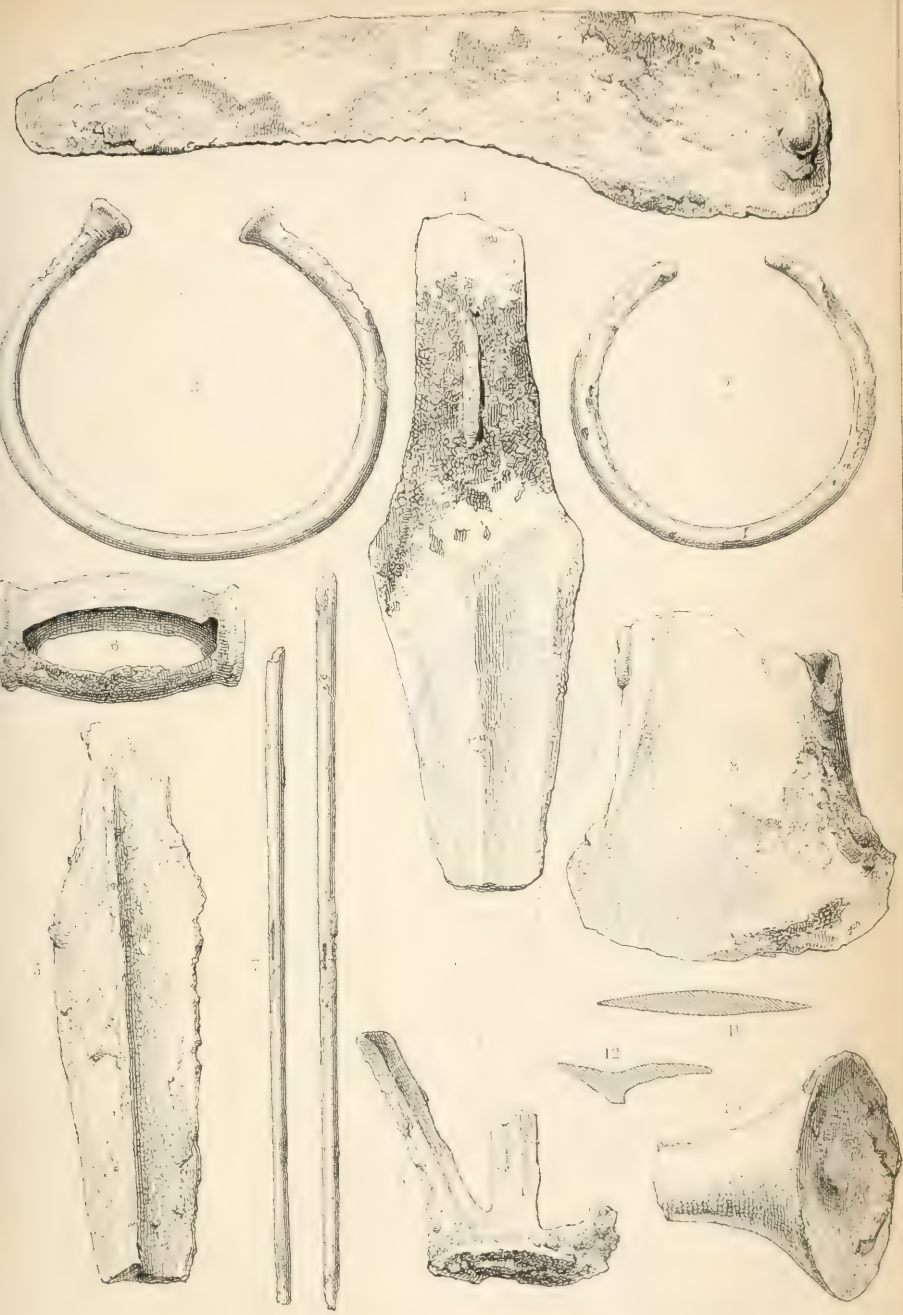
No. 2 continued. An open ring, with cups at each extremity. Diameter, one inch and one-sixteenth. Weight, 180 grs. See fig. 2.

No. 3. An open ring, without cups at the extremities. Diameter, one inch and five-eighths. Weight,  $89\frac{1}{2}$  grs. See fig. 3. There are also a ring or two, somewhat approaching to wire twisted in that shape; and also very numerous portions of open cupped rings and of plain open rings.

There is no doubt whatever that all the rings in the urn, whether open or shut, or plain or cupped, were of the nature of that ancient medium of circulation known as ring money. This was in existence before the Christian era, and continued in use for about six centuries afterwards. This species of money is mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon poem of



1



ANTIQUITIES IN BRONZE

ASTORIA, 1888

Found near the junction of the Rivers Astoria and Lewis and Clark, January 1888



*Beowulf*. Ring money is still in use in Africa, and as late as the year 1836 was manufactured at Birmingham in brass and iron for the trade of that country, in the form of open cupped rings.<sup>1</sup> There is every reason to suppose the manufacture of the article still continues; and the rings in the vocabulary of the trade are called "Manillas."<sup>2</sup> It should be added, that there appears to be a clear distinction between these objects and those other somewhat similar ones in their several varieties, which are more usually considered as bracelets, or as ornaments for the arms.

No. 4. The bronze head of a spear, or that of a javelin for hunting. It was originally about four inches and three-quarters long, and retains rather more than three inches and a half of its length. It has a ridge on either side, for the more securely fixing it in the handle. (See figs. 4 and 11.) There was likewise a fragment of a still lighter hunting spear, or of part of a dagger blade, for it seems uncertain which it is, about four inches long.

No. 5. A portion of a bronze dagger, three inches long. It appears to have been of an elegant form, from the moulding of the blade and its fine curve. (See figs. 5 and 12.)

No. 6. Bronze mounting of the top of a dagger sheath; somewhat singular. It appears that the leather sheath had four sides, and that this was inserted in the two opposite narrowest sides; and thus formed a very sufficient solid top to the sheath, down to which the dagger was sheathed to its haft. (See fig. 6.)

No. 7. Four bronze pins. The longest is three inches and seven-eighths long. Their diameters in the thickest parts are about one-sixteenth of an inch. Two of them are engraved. (See fig. 7.) They were used by the ancients in their dress, as they are still by many of those persons who are accustomed to wear Highland shawls.

No. 8. The lower part of a small celt. (See fig. 8.)

No. 9. An unknown small bronze object, about an inch and a half long. (See fig. 9.) It has three stems issuing from it, the two outer ones diverging from the interior one. The stems have somewhat of an oval shape, and one of them is slightly fluted. When entire, the whole, probably, formed the representation of some object which we

<sup>1</sup> See *Gentleman's Magazine*, April 1837, pp. 371-6.

<sup>2</sup> For some notes on this subject, see *Journal*, x, 171.

cannot now easily identify, which might have formed the framework for constructing a variety of the well-known article in ancient dress, namely, a fibula.

No. 10. A very rare species of fibula. Indeed, it is believed one has not been found in England before. This may be denominated the pendant fibula. (See fig. 10.) In the *Collectanea* of Mr. C. Roach Smith (vol. iv, p. 186), one is represented, found on the continent. This had two or three joints connected with it, which are absent from our present specimen, which must have made it flexible; and there must have been still a further joint which his specimen does not display, which was fitted with a ring, through which a piece of cording passed, and by the means of the same any part of the dress or equipment might be confined as much as desired. A pendant clasp is still in modern use among the accoutrements of cavalry.

Figs. 11 and 12 are transverse sections of the spear-head and dagger.

All the remaining objects not mentioned as above are very much oxidized, so that they may easily be mistaken for having been melted. Three or four rather weighty masses of them, evidently represent fragments of two more of the instruments called celts. These form our class II.

The still remaining portion, of some considerable weight, constituting our class III, is composed of objects at present entirely unrecognizable, except that in one place the end of a large piece of cupped ring money shows itself, and one or two smaller rings are traceable. The leading feature of the oxidation of the bronze objects in this urn is, the almost complete obliteration of the form of the several articles (that is, in the part of the contents where the oxidation has most taken place), so that they are consolidated into one conglomerated mass, without shape or form. If there were coins among the mass, not a vestige of one appears; if there were more fibulæ, more daggers, more knives, more spear-heads, no certain vestige of one of these remains. Thus obliteration is, as I repeat again, the great characteristic of these conglomerated masses of metal. It may be noticed how different is this from Dr. Mantell's coins taken out of the Mersey, as engraved in the frontispiece of his *Geology*. There the coins could still be identified and their legends read, though closely conglomerated in union with the mud



of the river. Again, how different the case as recorded in the *Saturday Magazine* for the year 1834, and other publications, where certain ancient coins found in the river at Tutbury, Staffordshire, were conglomerated along with gravel into solid lumps, but where still there was a general distinguishableness and legibility of the coins. Could it have been in those cases that the extraneous substances, as the gravel and mud, taking part of the oxidation, left the objects themselves less transformed and disguised?

Here, at any rate, there was no gravel and no mud, for the oxidation took place within the urn, and we have it, as a result, that those articles on which it took place seem entirely metamorphosed; and exhibit an appearance as if they had been melted.

The foregoing observations show the extensiveness of this hoard, and give occasion of regret for the loss of a great part of it. There could not have been originally much less than an hundred articles in the urn, of which we have now, including all the rings, and some of them are much broken, only between forty and fifty. The quantity of rings in the urn was no doubt owing to the wish of the fugitive to have something in the shape of ready money with him; for we find, as before said, in the poem of *Beowulf*, that they were considered as money in those times; and among the scattered population of the Britons, who sheltered themselves in the extensive ancient forest of Anderida, they might have been more coveted than coin itself. The depths of this said forest were evidently the destination of this fugitive; as it is very plain that the stores in the urn came from elsewhere than the forest, and were brought to where they were found. If we may read a line or two further in the history of the fugitive, we may easily surmise, that having been a slave or steward in one of the Roman villas in the upper tract of the country in this quarter, and having descended the hills in his way to the solitudes of the forest, and crossed the first small river at the foot of the hills, the river Buelth, he found there was still another river a few miles further on, which, burdened as he was, he could not venture to cross. He then traced it in its downward course; but soon finding it formed a junction with the former stream, and that all egress was thus obstructed, he buried his urn with its plunder in a spot where he hoped he might

find it again ; and then, taking the lighter part of his equipment, his hunting spear, his celt at his girdle, and it might be other small articles, he swam the river and disappeared in the thicker part of the forest. There we must leave him : and that he never returned to reclaim his buried store I think is quite evident ; or that he could not refind the exact spot.

As will be observed in the title placed before these remarks, I have considered the various objects found as Romano-British, which term, I think, will also correctly include the ring-money ; which the Britons may easily be understood to have continued to use under Roman rule. I venture to assign a high antiquity to these ancient remains : that is, the reign of Antoninus Pius, or, in other words, to about the year of the Christian era 150. We ascertain by the finding of his numerous coins, that the Romans in his reign had spread themselves over almost every part of the kingdom near and remote.

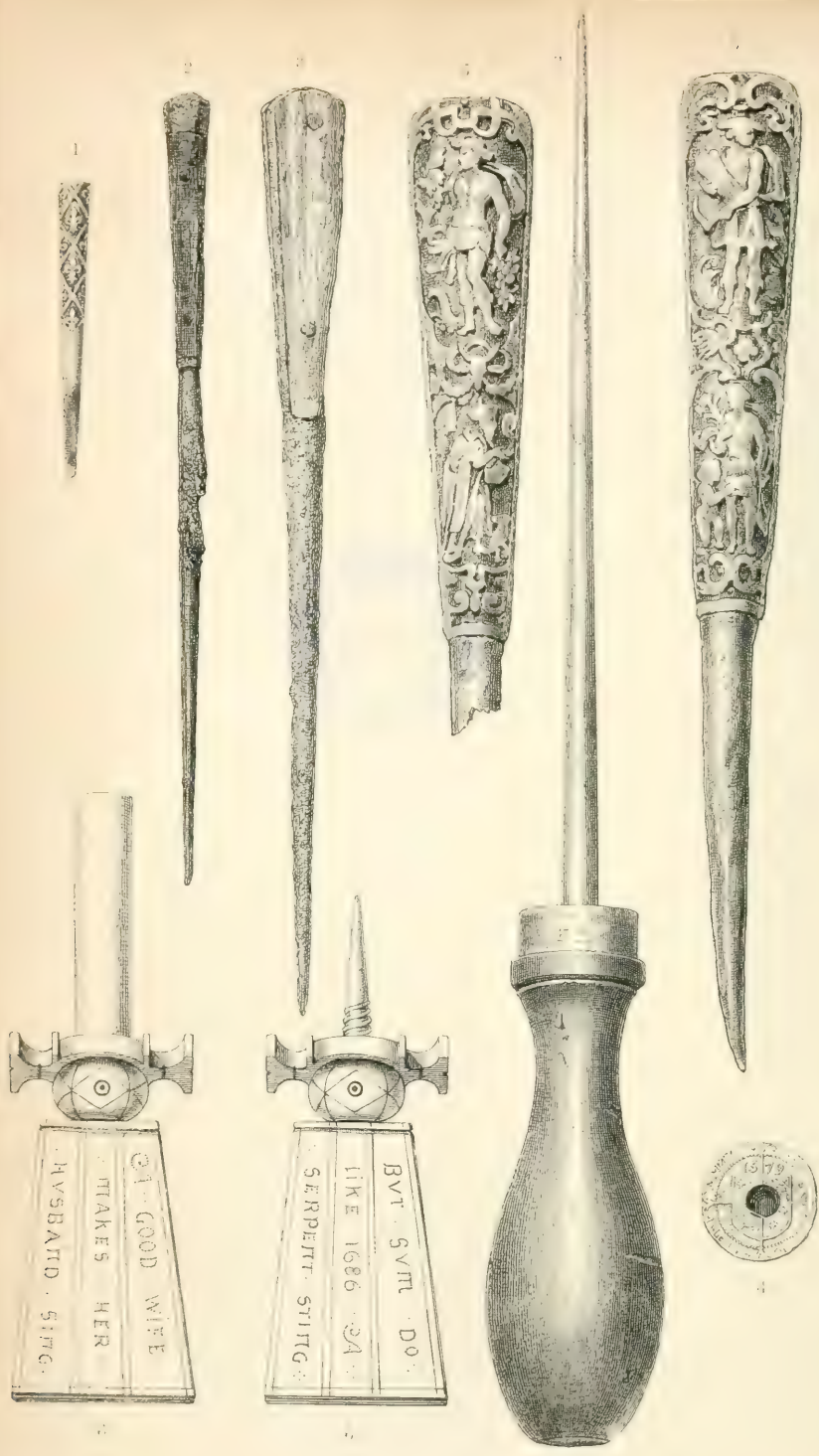
---

## ON AGLETS AND AGLET-HOLE PIERCERS.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., HON. SEC.

THE future historian will surely regard the present age as one of a peculiarly warlike character, when he finds on record that babies were provided with bascinets ; that ladies wore beneath their outer garb a structure composed of steel, and that their fair hands wielded the stiletto. With the first two named facts we have nought to do, and intend to be as brief as possible on the third. The title of *stiletto*, as applied to an implement of handicraft, is of modern date, Webster's being the first English dictionary in which it finds a place ; where it is defined as "a pointed instrument for making eyelet-holes in working muslin." But the instrument itself, under other names, is of ancient origin, and of far more general application than stated by Webster. Something very like it—if, indeed, it be not identical with it—was known to the Greeks and Romans, and called by them *opeas* and *subula* ; and the British *mynawyd* and Saxon *æl* could differ but little from what, in later days, was denominated a piercer, oylet or eyelet-hole maker. This latter title is a corruption





31. GOOD WIFE  
 MAKES HER  
 HUSBAND SING.

BVT. SVM. DO.  
 LIKE 1686. 2A.  
 SERPENT STING.

1579  
 1579



of aglet-hole, *i.e.* a perforation for the aglet, auglette, or aiguillette, the tag or point of the lace employed to close the garment, or secure one portion of dress to another.

The use of tags is of remote antiquity, golden ones having been found in Ireland mingled with undoubted Celtic remains. In the *Nenia Britannica* (pl. 2, fig. 11) is engraved a brass tag obtained from a Saxon barrow. In a MS. of the time of William Rufus or Henry I, in the Cottonian Collection (Nero, C. 4), is depicted the Prince of Evil, habited as a fashionable lady with an ornamented tag of a lace dangling from the last hole of the tight-fitting bodice; and laces and tags, and therefore aglet-holes, continued to be employed more or less frequently through the middle ages. But the grand era of the aglet spreads over a period commencing at the close of the fifteenth century, and terminating about the middle of the seventeenth century, during which they were wrought, not only of brass and iron, but even of gold and silver. In the *Coventry Mystery* (25) mention is made of "aglottes of silver fine". In an inventory of Henry VIII's wardrobe one item is, "a pair of truncke sleeves of redde cloth of gold, with cut workes, having twelve pair of agletes of gold." Walker, in his *History of the Irish Bards*, quotes a MS. in the State Paper Office, wherein sir Anthony St. Leger (lord deputy of Ireland, 1541) is described as wearing "a cote of crymosin velvet, with agglettes of golde 20 or 30 payer".

In the full century and a half during which the aglet was in the height of favour, thousands upon thousands must have been manufactured. But where have they all vanished to? I know of the existence but of one solitary example, which is now before you. It is a conic tube of stamped brass, rather above an inch and a half in length; smooth at the point, the rest ornamented trellis-wise, with a fleur-de-lis in each lozenge. This exquisite rarity is of the time of Henry VIII, and was found in the Thames, near London Bridge, in August 1846. (See plate 14, fig. 1.)

The aglet was probably sometimes made in fashion of an image, for Grumio, in the *Taming of the Shrew* (i, 2), says of Petrucio, "marry him to a puppet, or an aglet baby". But towards the close of the sixteenth century the title of aglet seems to have been pretty well discarded, and that of *point* adopted; under which denomination the tag and lace are continually alluded to by the writers of the age of Elizabeth

and James I. In proof of this may be cited a few passages from the plays of Shakespeare and others. Thus, in *Antony and Cleopatra* (iii, 2), the former asks the latter—"To flatter Cæsar, would you mingle eyes with one that ties his points?" In the *Winter's Tale* (iv, 3), the servant says of the pedlar—"He hath ribands of all the colours i' the rainbow; points, more than all the lawyers in Bohemia can learnedly handle." In *Twelfth Night* (i, 5), the clown exclaims—"I am resolved on two points;" to which Maria replies—"That if one break the other will hold; or, if both break, your gaskins fall." In *King Henry IV* (first part, ii, 4), it is said—"Their points being broken, down fell their hose." And in the second part of the same play (i, 1), Lord Bardolph declares to Northumberland—"If my young lord, your son, have not the day, upon my honour, for a silken point I'll give my barony." In the comedy of *Eastward Hoe*, 1605, one says—"Truss my points, sir." In *Lingua; or, The Combat of the Tongue and the Five Senses for Superiority*, 1607, it is said—"This point was scarce well truss'd." And we may add, by way of further illustration, that Clarendon records, king James was wont to say, "that the duke of Buckingham had given him a groom of his bedchamber, who could not truss his points."<sup>1</sup>

But from the point let us turn once more to the implement with which the aglet-hole was made for its admission. The earliest example of the piercer that I can lay before you, is of the close of the fifteenth century, and was exhumed near the Temple church, in October 1847. It is four inches in length, the iron broach rather slender, and the flat tang faced with slips of wood secured by two rivets. (Fig. 2.)

Our next specimen is of greater length, stouter proportion, and of later date; its period being the early part of the sixteenth century. It measures five inches and a half; the wooden facings of the broad tang are fixed by three rivets, and swell at the end like some of the knife-hafts of the reign of Henry VII. This example was recovered from the Thames, in 1847.

Our third piercer is also referable to the early part of the sixteenth century; and was discovered some years since in Moorfields. It is four inches and seven-eighths long, the

<sup>1</sup> Some curious notices of customs connected with points are given in Brand's *Antiquities* (Bohn's ed.), i, 205; ii, 128, 130, 170.

wooden haft, like the iron broach, being of a conic form, and attached by two rivets to the flat tang. (Fig. 3.)

Of a very different character is the fourth example I produce ; which is of the age of Elizabeth, and in excellent condition. The iron broach measures six inches and a half ; is of slender make, and driven into a stout wooden handle, the lower end of which has a silver ferrule faced with a sixpence of the year 1579, the broach passing through its centre. If anything could justify the title of *stiletto* for the piercer, it would be this specimen, the broach of which exceeds in length many a poniard-blade of the same period. It is engraved two-thirds of its size. (See fig. 4.)

From Mr. Sadd, of Cambridge, we have received a curious piercer, recently found close by Cambridge in digging for coprolites, at a depth of six or eight feet. This specimen little exceeds five inches and a quarter in length, but its iron broach has evidently been broken and fresh pointed. The conic haft is of cast brass, each side divided into two panels by rich scroll work, and in each panel is a figure, possibly representative of the four seasons. This ornamented haft enables us to fix the date of the specimen to the reign of Elizabeth or James I. (See fig. 5.)

Mr. Edward Blakely, of Norwich, sends for exhibition an ivory piercer, dated 1686. (See fig. 6.) It is of a totally different fashion from all our other specimens, and was probably employed in fine needlework. The broach has probably been broken off and repointed. It screws into a cylindric case, also of ivory. The handle is a broad, flat plate, divided on each side into three spaces by straight lines, within which is graven the following posy, the incuse letters being filled with some black substance. On one side—

A :: GOOD :: WIFE .  
 :: MAKES :: HER ::  
 :: HUSBAND :: SING.

On the other,—

BVT :: SVM :: DO ::  
 LIKE :: 1686 :: A ::  
 :: SERPENT :: STING ::

It is to be hoped that this pointed hint was taken in good part by the lady to whom it was addressed, and that she gave her husband substantial reason to sing for joy.

Though the broach could, of course, admit of but little variety in form, the handles of piercers exhibit much diversity of fashion and material, as may be seen by comparing the specimens which have passed under review, which have hafts of wood, brass, and ivory. Some of the piercers of the commencement of the seventeenth century had richly wrought hilts of silver; and in Venice, about twenty years since, hafts formed of olive shells were in great esteem. One other example of piercer deserves mention,—that sold at Portsmouth as a relic of the ill-starred Royal George; the broach of which is made of one of its brazen nails, and its hilt of a fragment of its timber, inlaid with a plate of copper graven with the record, “ROYAL GEORGE, *sunk* 1782; *raised* 1840.”

It is evident that the aglet and the piercer have played no insignificant part in the world of fashion; but their day of exaltation has passed away, their glory has departed, their pride and pomp vanished and decayed. The aglet—the once sumptuous aglet of gold and silver, wrought in quaint device by cunning craftsmen, and glittering like prized jewel on princely garb—has at last dwindled to a worthless tag of tin or brass, clipping the boot-string of the witless boor, or hiding its head amid the lace-holes of the invisible corset. Where is the costly busk-point now? The piercer, though shorn of its former importance, has yet found a far less degrading fate than the aglet. Under the dignified name of stiletto it is still tolerated in the workbox of the ladies; and, pressed by their gentle fingers through lace and muslin, reminds us ever and anon of the aglet-holes of the reigns of our Tudors and our Stuarts.



## Proceedings of the Association.

---

JANUARY 13, 1858.

T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE following associates were elected :

Lady Dillon, Onslow-crescent, Brompton.  
 George Alfred Carthew, esq., F.S.A., East Dereham.  
 Charles E. Hammond, esq., Newmarket.  
 John Gray, esq., 4, Gloucester-crescent, Regent's Park.  
 Richard Cuming, esq., Newington-place.  
 James J. Macintyre, esq., 8, Onslow-crescent, Brompton.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :

- To the Smithsonian Institute.* For Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge. Vol. ix. Washington, 1857, 4to.
- „ „ Annual Report for 1856. Ib. Ib., 8vo.
- To the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.* History of Wisconsin, by W. R. Smith. Madison, 1854-56; 3 vols., 8vo.
- „ „ First Annual Report. Madison, 1855, 8vo.
- „ „ Madison, the Capital of Wisconsin. Compiled by Lyman C. Draper. Madison, 1857, 8vo.
- „ „ Report of the Locating Survey of the St. Croix and Lake Superior Railroad. Ib., 1856, 8vo.
- „ „ Annual Report of the Geological Survey of the State of Wisconsin, by J. G. Perceval. Ib. Ib., 8vo.
- „ „ Second Annual Report of the Board of Education for 1856. Ib., 1857, 8vo.
- „ „ Ninth Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin for 1856. 8vo.
- „ „ First Annual Report of the Wisconsin Teachers' Association. Ib., 1854, 8vo.
- „ „ Inaugural Address before the Board of Regents of the State of Wisconsin. Ib., 1856, 8vo.
- „ „ Charter of the City of Madison, Wisconsin. Ib., 1856, 8vo.

- To the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.* Address by Daniel Read, LL.D., before the Regents' Faculty and Students of the University of Wisconsin. Ib., 1856, 8vo.
- " " City of Watertown, Wisconsin. Watertown, 1856, 12mo.
- " " Seymour's Madison Directory. Madison, 1855, 12mo.
- " " Prairie du Chien; its Present Position and Future Prospects. By Alfred Branson. Milwaukee, 1857, 12mo.
- " " Three maps of Madison, Milwaukee, and Watertown. 1857, folio.
- To the Canadian Institute.* The Canadian Journal. Nos. II-VI, New Series. March to Nov., 1856; 8vo. Nos. XI and XII, N. S. Sept. and Nov., 1857.
- To the Society.* Twenty-First Annual Report of the Council of the Art Union of London for 1857. 8vo.
- To the Author.* Oratio Anniversaria Harveiana a Jacopo Copland, M.D., F.R.S. Lond., 1857, 4to.
- To the Artist.* Etching of Bassingham gateway, Norwich; by H. E. Blazeby.<sup>1</sup> Folio.
- To Mr. Jobbins.* The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal. 4to., January 1858.
- To the Publisher.* Gentleman's Magazine. 8vo., January 1858.
- To the Author.* Account of Excavations made at the Mote Hill, Warrington; by James Kendrick, M.D. Liverpool, 1853, 8vo.

Mr. Robert Fitch, of Norwich, sent for exhibition the remains of a remarkably fine Celtic spear-head, of bronze, exhumed at Barham in Suffolk. It measures seven inches and three-quarters in length; but a considerable portion is broken off from both ends. The socket extends up the centre of the blade, and is perforated on one side to admit a small peg or rivet, which secured the head to the shaft.

Mr. G. Wright laid before the meeting seven copper coins discovered in a cave at Inkermann during the late war in the Crimea. They consist of three Greek coins (illegible); a third brass of Diocletian, A.D. 284; of Valens, A.D. 364; and of Honorius, A.D. 393; together with a second brass of Leo III (the Isaurian), A.D. 717-741.

Dr. James Kendrick laid before the meeting some interesting relics discovered near Warrington, Lancashire; particulars of which will be found in Mr. Cuming's paper on Lancashire antiquities, to be printed in a future number of the *Journal*. They were as follow:

1. Blade of a Celtic bwyall-arv, or battle-axe, about six inches and

<sup>1</sup> As an interesting example of domestic gateway of the time of Henry VII this plate is recommended to the notice of our associates. It may be had of the artist, at the School of Design, Norwich.

three-quarters long, and three and three-eighths across the cutting edge. It is of yellow bronze, and was found near Warrington.

2. Blade of a paalstab, about six inches long; and a broad, flat ring, also of bronze, one inch and three-quarters in diameter, and about a quarter of an inch thick; found together at Winwick. Dr. Kendrick conjectures that the ring was put round the handle of the paalstab as a sort of ferrule, to prevent the wood from splitting when the instrument was struck. A paalstab discovered in Jutland had its wooden handle bound with three leathern rings.

3. A small and somewhat cup-formed object, with a round perforation through its centre; of dull red terra-cotta; found in the Roman station at Wildenpool. The use of this specimen is really unknown; but it has been supposed to be the stopper of an amphora, the verticillus of a fusus or spindle, a drill-wheel, etc.

4. Handle of a large posnet or pipkin, in the shape of a chamois horn, about five inches and five-eighths long; of exceedingly hard terra-cotta, of a stone colour, and much like the material of Roman mortaria, but unquestionably of mediæval origin. Its date is probably the fifteenth century, when such ware was in extensive employ. It was found in the Moot or Moat Hill at Warrington, in 1841.

5. Portion, apparently, of a candlestick of the sixteenth century, consisting of the remains of the cylindric socket piercing the broad handle. It is of reddish coloured earthenware, covered with a mottled greenish brown glaze. It was found with the above in the Mote Hill.

Mr. J. Horne Payne, of Bridgwater, sent for exhibition a portion of a thorn in blossom, from Glastonbury, taken on Christmas eve, in support of the legend alluded to in Dr. Beattie's paper on Glastonbury abbey, read at the Congress in 1856.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Payne states it to have been in full blossom this year, as he had seen it on many occasions. It bears the repute of being from one of the cuttings taken from the original thorn which grew out of the stick of St. Joseph of Arimathæa.

Mr. W. H. Forman exhibited a Roman *epistomium*, or tap, of bronze, in a high state of preservation, and of most elegant design. The handle of the *assis* represents a merman with a long tail twisted towards the caudal fin, and having pointed fins at the hips. The left hand of the figure is broken off, but the right holds some object resembling a dice-box. The stoma of the fistula is in the form of a dolphin's head. This rare object was discovered, a few years since, in Belgium.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming accompanied Mr. Forman's exhibition with the following remarks:

"The *epistomia*, or taps, employed in the baths, and for other purposes, by the Greeks and Romans, display a fancy in design and elegance of execution unobservable in those of modern times. Montfaucon (iii,

<sup>1</sup> See Journal, vol. xii, pp. 328 et seq.

pt. 1, l. 3, c. 15) has engraved a magnificent tap of a fountain, in which the handle of the *assis*, or plug, represents a nude figure standing on the head of a dolphin, and holding up its tail in the right hand. The *fistula* is wrought with acanthus leaves, and terminates in the head of a bull, through the mouth of which the water flowed. An *epistomium* discovered at Pompeii consists of a columnar socket with a square-handled *assis*, the cylindric fistula having a leonine persona at its end. In the British Museum is an *epistomium* of bronze, exhumed in London, in which the fistula is made to issue from the mouth of an animal; the columnar socket being placed before it, and having a circular foramen for the emission of the fluid. The majority of *epistomia* hitherto brought to light are composed of bronze; but Vitruvius speaks of taps with iron handles; and, according to Seneca (*Ep.* 86), the *balineæ* of Rome, even for the common people, were provided with *epistomia* of silver.

“The tappus, or tap, of the middle ages was made both plain and of a quaint form. Of the first named variety I exhibit an early example discovered in Wood-street, Cheapside, February 1850. It is of bronze, much corroded, and evidently broken from the front of a cistern or vat, probably for wine. The socket and pipe are both octangular, the mouth of the latter having a downward inclination. The handle of the plug is flat-sided, and fashioned somewhat like the bars of a crown. Some of the more elaborately formed mediæval taps represented sea-horses and other creatures, amongst which was the cock,—a form which at length gave name to the thing itself, and under which designation it is alluded to by Shakespeare in *Timon of Athens* (ii, 2), where Flavius says :

“‘When our vaults have wept  
With drunken spilth of wine; when every room  
Hath blaz’d with lights and bray’d with minstrelsy;  
I have retir’d me to a wasteful *cock*,  
And set mine eyes at flow.’

“The spiddock, or spigot and faucet, was in very general use in the middle ages for vessels of good liquor; whence ‘spigot-sucker’ became a cant name for a drunkard. And in the *Praise of Yorkshire Ale*, 1697 (p. 15), we read—

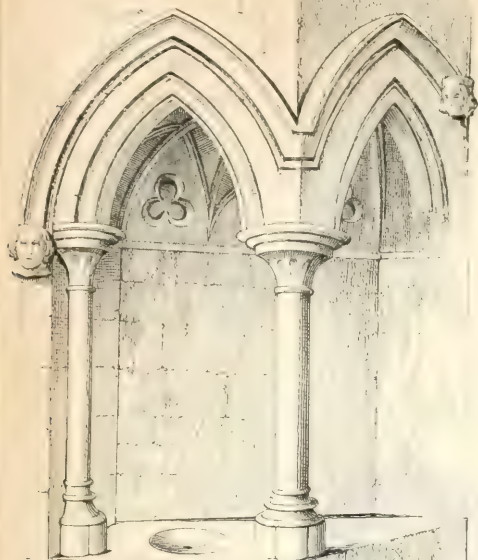
“‘For whilst one drop of ale was to be had,  
They quaft and drunk it round about like mad;  
When all was off, then out they pull’d the tappes,  
And stuck the spiddocks finely in their hats.’”

Mr. Robert Fitch, of Norwich, exhibited a mould lately exhumed near to the London gate of that city. The subject delineated is that of the massacre of the Innocents; and the armour worn by the figures of the soldiery appears to belong to the close of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century. Mr. Planché, who laid before the meeting a fine gutta-percha impression, suggested that it might probably have





2



3



formed the third part of a mould used for the casting of a tryptich. It is represented on plate 15, fig. 1.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming read a paper on the history of purses, illustrating it by numerous examples from his own collection, and those of Mr. Lynch, Mr. Pretty, Mr. Wills, Mr. Gunston, Mr. Hammond, Mrs. Hiff, and Mrs. Fitch. This paper has been printed in the *Journal*. See pp. 131-144 *ante*.

JANUARY 27TH.

S. R. SOLLY, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Frederick D. Hibbert, esq., Chalfont Park, Bucks, was elected an associate.

Thanks were returned to the Royal Society for the present of their *Proceedings*, No. 28, 8vo.

Mr. Pettigrew laid before the meeting six Roman third brass coins he had received from Miss Westmacott. They were found at Felixstowe, in Suffolk, where Roman coins have frequently been found, especially at the spot known as Walton Castle, which is believed to have been a Roman castrum. The coins were of Victorinus, P. P. Tetricus, Rome (*circa* 328), Valens (two specimens), and Gratianus.

Mr. Pettigrew also read the following, extracted from a letter he had received from the rev. Francis Trappes, in reference to a statement that the rings denominated *decades*, belonged to a more recent period than that to which they were usually assigned.

"I should have answered your letter sooner, had I not hoped to accompany it by the present of a decade ring or *tens* (as we called it), which I used when a boy at Stonyhurst; but I have been disappointed in my search. These *tens* were at that time, and had been for generations, in common use among English Catholics, especially with those who could not read their prayers. These rings had on them ten knobs, on each of which, as it passed under the finger, was recited a short prayer commencing with 'Hail, Mary', etc., from Luke, chap. i, v. 28. Besides the above ten knobs, from which the name *tens* was derived, there was an eleventh, usually ornamented, and distinguished with a cross, at which, as its turn came round, the 'Our Father' was said. Most of the scores of these *tens* which I have seen in use were, of course, modern, and made, I believe, at Birmingham; but I remember some in the possession of old people who had been abroad, very much resembling that which is figured fig. 4, pl. 39, *Journal* for December, 1857. Several years ago I remember being shown a specimen of the modern *tens* among the treasures and curiosities of York Minster, which, on being a little pressed on the subject, the verger admitted had been found in some rubbish near the church not many years before, and pronounced to be an episcopal ring, and, as such, placed among the curiosities of the

cathedral! I have reason to think that the use of *tens* was more general with us in England, rather than that of strung beads, during the existence of the penal laws, as being more easily concealed; besides that, beads were, I believe, often taken as a proof of the possessor being a member of the prohibited church."

Mr. Wakeman sent an amulet, picked up in his garden at the Graig, Monmouth. The legend on the obverse reads, CRUX. S. P. BENEDICTI, and St. Benedict is figured in the centre. On the reverse is a cross, and around are the letters, IHS.V.R.S.N.S.M.Y.S.M.Q.L.I.V.B., the explanation of which is given in the *Proceedings* of Feb. 24th.

Mr. Fitch forwarded the impression of a seal, the matrix of which was found at the Chapter-house, Hereford. It is of an elliptic form, a fish is represented in the centre, and around, S. SIMON. BRONAPONAE. (See plate 15, fig. 3.)

Mr. C. E. Hammond laid before the meeting a drawing of an Early English piscina, brought to light in July last, in taking down the south wall of the chancel of St. Mary's church, Newmarket. (See pl. 15, fig. 2.) The drawing was accompanied by the following remarks: "I inclose a rough sketch of the piscina, which we found immediately after the pouch with jettons which I exhibited. It appears to be a squinting piscina, on one side jutting into the splay of the window which I have marked on the sketch. The architectural character of St. Mary's church is Perpendicular, almost approaching debased in some parts. The chancel, however, looks of an earlier period, although there was little to indicate such until we found the piscina. I am inclined to think that the chancel is the old part, and has probably been much altered, and the nave and tower were very possibly added at a later period. The church and chancel certainly do not appear to have been erected at one and the same time. The east window looks like Decorated, but this may have been modernized. There is a nave and south aisle only, with a transept to the north."<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Gunston produced the following Roman and mediæval keys:

1. A Roman *clavis* of bronze, with curiously perforated web, having four long *dentes* set at right-angles to it. The stem is short, and surmounted by a scroll-formed loop. A similar specimen, from the Genèviève collection, is engraved by Montfaucon (iii, pt. 1, pl. liv, p. 105).

2. A Roman *clavis* of bronze, with tubular stem surmounted by a flat-sided bow, of elegant design, perforated, and graven with cyclet-holes.

3. Two Roman *claves* of iron, the webs having long *dentes*, and the short stems being surmounted by square blocks, above which are annular bows. Both were found at Colchester.

4. Iron key of the close of the thirteenth century. It has a lozenge-formed bow, and broach.

<sup>1</sup> Representations and accounts of piscinas are given in the *Journal*, i, 54, 69, 71, 73, 316; ii, 3, 267; iv, 174; and vii, 340.



5. Bronze key of the early part of the fourteenth century. The lozenge-formed bow has a boss at the points, and the tubular stem a fillet round the upper part. The edge of the web is channelled to pass over a peg at the entrance of the lock.

6. Large iron key of the fifteenth century, with compressed bow, long broach, and web consisting of four strong teeth.

7. Iron key of a padlock, with blank web, tubular stem, and annular bow. Date, sixteenth century.

8. Massive iron key, six inches and a quarter long; of the early part of the seventeenth century: found in June 1856, whilst excavating near the Old Mint, within the Tower London. It has a reni-formed bow, and solid stem elongated into a broach, projecting nearly five-eighths of an inch beyond the web.

Mr. W. H. Forman exhibited a most beautiful steel key of the time of Henry VII, apparently of German fabric. The web has nine perforations through it; a channel next the pipe; and the edge cut into thirteen deep *dentes*. The pipe is double at its entrance; and is capped by an oblong-square abacus, the convex sides of which are wrought in open scrolls. Above this is a circle with richly decorated centre; and this is surmounted by a four-faced stem widening from its base to summit, and pierced with engraved scrolls. When this elegant key is placed upon the broad end of the stem, and the web turned from the spectator, it presents the figure of a cross calvary.

Mr. E. Blakely exhibited a bronze snuff box of the time of Queen Anne. It is of rather elegant design, the lid being decorated in the centre with a pecten-shell formed of mother o' pearl and tortoiseshell, surrounded by concentric circles; and the raised margin graven with scrolls and set with three triangles and two rhombs of like material as the ornament in the centre.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming read the following additional notes on horse shoes, as a continuation of his paper on the subject printed in vol. vi, pp. 406-418.

" Since the publication of my paper on *Horse Shoes* in our *Journal*, a few facts have come to light which tend to prove in an eminent degree the assertion therein advanced; namely, that the horses of the classic ages were shod in a similar way to those of our own day. At the time the paper was produced we had little to countenance the idea that the early Greeks protected the feet of their steeds with metallic shoes, beyond the bare fact that some ancient horse shoes of bronze were known to be in existence, and the poetical mention of '*brazen-footed horses*' in the *Iliad* (xiii, 23, viii, 41). Within these few years, however, Mr. Charles Newton, whilst vice-consul at Mytilene, found among the fragments of the Parthenon, a horse's hoof with holes all round the inside, clearly indicating where a metallic shoe had been fastened, and it is quite unlikely

that any such defence should appear upon a statue if a similar article had not been in actual use at the time.

“Should there still remain some uncertainty about the employment of metallic horse shoes among the Greeks, the fact of their use by the Romans has received increased confirmation.<sup>1</sup> There has been found at Stanford Bury, in Bedfordshire, an iron implement evidently made to pick the horse's hoofs and fasten its shoes, together with the remains of the horse and its rider, associated with Roman reliquiæ.<sup>2</sup> And in August 1854, there was discovered in Long Smith Street, Gloucester, at the depth of some nine or ten feet from the surface, and mingled with numerous fragments of Roman fictilia, the outer half of a strong iron horse shoe, with one of the thin-headed nails still remaining in the hole.<sup>3</sup> This interesting relic is now in the possession of Mr. Iliff, of Kennington, by whose permission I here exhibit it. It is exactly like, both in size and fabric, the Roman *solea* exhumed in Moorfields, and engraved in our *Journal* (vi, 410); and Mr. Ainslie also places before us a precisely similar shoe, discovered with Roman remains in Fleet Ditch. Another iron horse shoe, of rather large size, was met with beneath the Roman road which passes by Inneravon, Linlithgowshire, when the old pavement was removed and the road first macadamised. It is preserved in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

“The question regarding the employment of horse shoes by the Teutonic tribes of Britain has received some slight elucidation. I feel confident that the Anglo-Saxons shod their steeds, and that they called the metal shoe *calc-round*, i.e., rim-shoe, though Bosworth says the name signifies a round hoof; and my confidence is supported by the fact of the discovery of some horse shoes in a Saxon burial-place in Berkshire. Mr. T. Wills permits me to lay before you a horse shoe, which there seems good reason to regard as of Saxon origin. It is about three inches and seven-eighths long, exceedingly thin, agreeing in this respect with a horse shoe found with Saxon remains in Kent (alluded to in my former paper, vi, 411), and the iron of which it is composed is of that peculiar ropy kind so characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon era. It is sharp at the extremities, has no calkins, and the six large square nail-holes are cut clean through the substance, and not countersunk to receive the nail-heads as in the Roman *solea*. This curious specimen was recovered from the northern side of the Thames, about midway between Dowgate and Blackfriars Bridge.

“I would now call attention to a shoe differing from any we have

<sup>1</sup> For the discovery of an iron horse shoe among Roman remains in France, see *Journal*, vii, 135.

<sup>2</sup> See *Gent. Mag.*, Nov. 1848, p. 518.

<sup>3</sup> Some notice of the discoveries in Gloucester will be seen in the *Journal*, x, 313.

hitherto considered, namely, an example of the kind known as a half-moon. It is contrived to fit the outer half of the left fore-hoof of the horse, the intent being to prevent it cutting the opposite leg, which it would have done with the ordinary formed shoe. It is rather thin, has four square countersunk nail-holes or stampings, but neither calkin nor fullering. This specimen was exhumed some years since from a considerable depth in Moorfields; it is certainly of ancient fabric, though its exact age cannot be determined. Nor do we indeed know when such shoes came into vogue: that they are as old as the seventeenth century is clear enough, for in Torriano's *Italian and English Dictionary*, London, 1688, we find mention of '*lunette*, a kind of horse shoes, called half-moon shoes.'

"In my former paper some allusion was made to the horse shoe as an heraldic charge, and I have now the pleasure of placing before you two singular little Flemish carvings in wood, of the latter half of the sixteenth century, on one of which the horse shoe forms a prominent object as an armorial badge. These carvings appear to have formed portions of the frontal decorations of a cabinet or armoire, and represent demi-figures of a lady and gentleman in broad ruffs, surmounting pilasters, on the fronts of which and upheld by the hand of each figure, is a fanciful shield: that on the male terminus is charged as follows,—Party per fesse, a merchant's mark, in chief a flint and fire-iron (or steel as it is now called) with issuing sparks. The shield on the other terminus bears a large horse shoe with clip, calkings, and six holes, and within a large horse nail and hammer, bringing to mind the seal of Radulph Marshall, the farrier of Durham, given in the *Archæological Journal* (iv, 149), and also the arms upon the andirons engraved in our *Journal* (v, 393). It is no easy matter to decide who are intended by these images—the emperor Charles V, and Isabella of Portugal; Philip and Anne of Austria; Albert and Isabella of Flanders; and Philip and Mary of England, have each in turn been suggested, but the carvings bear but slight resemblance to any of these worthies. The shields are in all probability those of two rich guilds, and the demi-figures the effigies of their illustrious founders or patrons.

"We have already seen that an iron hoof-pick has been discovered among Roman remains in Bedfordshire, and I now exhibit a more modern, yet still an early example of this useful instrument. It consists of a thin hook, broad at the lower part and tapering to the handle, which is a large bow like that of some of the keys of the fifteenth century. The entire length of the instrument is five inches and a quarter. It was dug up in 1839 from a great depth, in the grounds belonging to the old mansion-house at Newington Butts, an erection of the middle of the sixteenth century: the pick is, however, I think, very much older than the house."

Mr. George Vere Irving read a paper on the Iters of Richard of Cirencester, which will be printed in the *Journal*.



FEBRUARY 10TH.

T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following associates were elected :

Edwin Hickey, esq., Oak Hill, Lingfield, Sussex.

Joseph W. Previt , esq., 9, Bentinck Terrace, Regent's Park.

John Peck, esq., 50, Pembridge Villas, Bayswater.

Thanks were given for the following presents :

*To Joseph Mayer, esq.* For *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, by C. R. Smith. London, 1856. 4to.

” ” ” A volume of Vocabularies, edited by T. Wright, forming First Part of *National Antiquities*. 8vo. 1857. Privately Printed.

” ” ” Lecture on the History of the English Language, by T. Wright. Liverpool, 1857-8.

” ” ” Catalogue of Drawings, Miniatures, etc., Illustrative of the Buonaparte Family, in the Collection of J. Mayer, esq., arranged and illustrated by J. Mayer, esq., Liverpool. 1855. 8vo.

*To the Publisher.* Gentleman's Magazine, for February 1858. 8vo.

*To the Society.* M moires de la Soci t  Imp riale d'Emulation d'Abbeville, 1852-57. Abbeville, 1857. 8vo.

*To the Author.* Antiquit s Celtiques et Ant diluviennes par M. Boucher des Perthes. Tom. ii. Paris, 1857. 8vo.

*To the Institute.* Arch ological Journal. No. 55, for Sept., 1857. 8vo.

*To Mr. Jobbins.* The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal, for Feb. 1858. 4to.

Mr. Bartlett exhibited a Roman horse shoe found at Silbury, Wilts.

Dr. W. V. Pettigrew exhibited a medi val horse shoe found with some Roman coins at Staunton Harold, Leicestershire.

Mr. W. H. Forman exhibited a beautifully ornamented circular Saxon fibula, which will be figured and described with others in a future *Journal*.

Mr. S. Wood laid before the meeting some curious arms from Asia and South Africa. The latter consist of two clubs (*kierri*), made of the straight horn of the ketloa (*rhinoceros ketloa*), similar to one described in the *Journal*, iii, 28. A war-axe, with the stem of the iron blade driven through the globose end of the ketloa horn handle; and a dart, the blade having its stem echinated. The two Asiatic specimens are a scythe-shaped sword resembling one in the Meyrick collection stated to be a Nair's knife from Malabar (see Skelton's *Meyrick*, pl. 145, fig. 4), and a target, the convex face of which is profusely decorated with bosses, crescents and other figures, stamped out of brass, and attached by small



pegs. The parts where the two handles are fixed to the target are covered with high conic bosses, which well explain the use of similar objects discovered among Celtic remains in this country and Ireland, and of which some notice will be found in the *Journal*, x, 170.

Mr. Gunston exhibited an exceedingly elegant short-sword of the time of Elizabeth, which may be compared with one at Goodrich Court, considered by the late sir Samuel Meyrick to be the work of an artist of the school of Cellini, and assigned to the year 1635. The pommel, grip, cross and guard are of blackened steel, most elaborately decorated with scrolls, heads, demi-figures of satyrs, etc., horsemen, a mask of Jupiter and other devices, cast and then finished off with the chisel. The two-edged blade is about one foot nine inches and a quarter long, graven on each side with bands of rich bright scrolls upon a black field. The steel sheath is covered with engravings of heads, dragons, dogs, human figures, groups of weapons, etc. The hook is leaf-shaped, and the chape or crampet tri-lobed.

Mr. Syer Cuming, in allusion to the notice on decade rings at the previous meeting, made the following remarks :

“The decade or rosary ring of silver-gilt, represented in our *Journal* (xiii, pl. 39, fig. 4, p. 313), is evidently, from its fabric and form of letters composing the legend AVE MARIA GRA., a production of the early part of the sixteenth century, about which period rings of this description were in considerable employ. The same mode, however, of dividing the hoop into ten, by projections like the cross of a wheel, continued during the seventeenth century, of which we had a good instance in the specimen exhibited to the Association on March 11th, 1857, when it was observed that rings of similar design are as old as the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The latter example differs, however, in two essential points from the one given in the *Journal*; first, it is uninscribed; secondly, it has the addition of a plate or collet in front, which serves as a *gaude* for the *Pater noster*, and on which is graven a cross, IHS, and the three nails of the crucifixion: a group of objects of common occurrence on religious rings of the seventeenth century. Other subjects are also met with on the fronts of decade rings. We may cite, for example, an early specimen discovered many years since near Croyland (engraved in the *Gent. Mag.*, July, 1792, p. 15, fig. 7), the octagon collet of which exhibits the crucifixion with attending figures. The exterior of the hoop of this curious relic consists of ten large bosses; but we sometimes find the decades marked by balls set at equidistance round the ring: and it may be well to note that the size of these balls and bosses goes far in determining the age of such rings. In the earlier examples they are generally large and prominent, but decrease in dimension as they approach to our own days; in proof of which I lay before you a rosary ring of gilt-brass made in Paris in 1811, in which we see the little bosses projecting but slightly

from the surface of the narrow hoop. The oval collet bears in low relief a crucifix on a rayed field."

Mr. Ambrose Boyson, of Kennington, exhibited, by the hands of Mr. H. Syer Cuming, a rare and early example of the cat, or caltrop, discovered, with some crossbow bolts, in the ruined castle of Oberstein, on the river Nahe, Oldenburg. It is of iron. Three of the quadrangular spikes are fractured at their points; but the fourth is perfect, and measures about one inch and a quarter in length. (See plate 15, fig. 4).

Mr. Cuming remarked that: "Though the period and inventive country of the caltrop are alike veiled in mystery, there is good reason to believe that it was introduced as an adjunct in warfare at a very remote era. In all ages it has consisted of four sharp spikes radiating from a common centre, so that when thrown on the ground to impede the advance of cavalry, one of its points was sure to stand erect, thereby inflicting terrible wounds in the horses' feet, and causing the greatest confusion in the ranks. The caltrop is mentioned by Greek and Roman authors under the name of *tribulus*; and it was likewise called *murex ferreus*, from its sharp prickles; and also *stimulus*.

"Quintus Curtius, in his life of Alexander the Great (iv, 13, 36), says that the Persians covered the earth with these formidable spikes in order to lame the Macedonian cavalry. And Cæsar (*Bel. Gal.*, vii, 73, 75) describes the strewing the land before the city of Alesia with caltrops of an extroradinary size, which greatly annoyed the Gallic host; and when in Africa we again find him resorting to this artful means of defence.<sup>1</sup> But common as the *tribulus* must once have been, very few traces of it are now left. Count Caylus (*Recueil*, iv, pl. 98) has engraved one with spikes, thirteen inches in length, fixed in a central ball. And in the British Museum is another specimen, formed entirely of bone, the *styli cæci* being driven into a portion of the metacarpus of some animal. This *tribulus* was discovered at Kertch, along with remains referrible to the Byzantine era.

"Anna Comnena (v. 140) states that her father, the emperor Alexius, who reigned A.D. 1081-1118, ordered caltrops to be cast in front of his archers, to hinder a charge of Frankish cavalry; and we learn from many sources that these instruments long continued to be used both in Europe and the East. But the cat, caltrop, galtrop, chausse-trop, or cheval-trop (for it bore all these titles), of the middle ages seems to have been of smaller size than its classic ancestor, and therefore more readily concealed beneath the grass and low herbage.

"Though we have no evidence by which to fix the precise date of Mr. Boyson's specimen, there can be no doubt, from its fabric and condition, that it is of considerable age. The castle of Oberstein is noticed in history as early as the year 1075; and in the turbulent times which

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Bel. Afr., 31.

succeeded its erection, many attacks may have been made on it, and in one of which this caltrop was in all probability employed.

"In the Meyrick collection is a curious caltrop with spikes, the same length as the German specimen; but they are set in a cubic centre, and the implement is altogether more carefully constructed, and apparently of later date. It was sold among a lot of old iron from the Tower of London, the national armoury thus losing a most interesting relic.

"The caltrop was employed in this country as late as the civil war; for it is on record that the rev. T. Swift, grandfather of the celebrated dean, caused a number to be flung into the ford of the Wye, as a protection to Goodrich castle. Abroad its use is of still more recent date. Dr. Addison, in his work on Tangiar (1685) says: 'The ground about was thick sown with caltrops, which very much incommoded the shoeless Moors.' And I have been shown a couple of iron cats which are stated to have been employed during the siege of Quebec in 1759.

"The caltrop was once a favourite charge in heraldry, as is evident from the shields of the Balls, Devickes, Garters, Kerridges, and other families, in which the form of this ancient implement is preserved."

Mr. Boyson also exhibited an iron spur-rowel, of eight points, measuring two inches and a half in diameter, discovered near the church of Offenbach, on the borders of Rhenish Prussia. It is of the time of Richard II, and may be compared with the example engraved in the *Journal* (xiii, pl. 27, fig. 3.)

Mr. Syer Cuming read a paper on "Aglets and Aglet-Hole Piercers," illustrated by examples furnished by himself, Mr. Sadd, and Mr. Blakely. (See pp. 262-266 *ante*.)

Mr. J. Macintyre communicated some particulars in relation to a visit he had paid, in 1852, to the Roman station and camp at Ardoch, in Perthshire,—a site offering to the archæologist an encouraging field for research and exploration, when an opportunity should present itself to the Association.

#### FEBRUARY 24.

T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following associates were elected:

Robert Golding, esq., Hunton, near Staplehurst, Kent.

Henry J. Stevens, esq., Derby.

Thanks were voted to Mr. Planché for his present of "Some Account of the Armour and Weapons exhibited amongst the Art Treasures of the United Kingdom at Manchester." London, 1857, 8vo.

The chairman announced that he had received two communications (one from the rev. Dr. Husenbeth, the other from the rev. Robt. E. Grey) relative to the medal of St. Benedict exhibited by Mr. Wakeman at the

previous meeting. The explanation given by both these gentlemen is in agreement, and may be stated thus. The medal bears what is called the cross of St. Benedict on one side, with the figure of the saint with his usual emblem of the cup and serpent on the other. The letters down the cross are, C S S M L. Each letter stands for a word, and these signify, *Crux sacra sit mihi lux*. Those in the transverse part of the cross are, N D S M D; and they stand for these words, *Non draco sit mihi dur*. The four letters at the corners are, C S P B; which mean, *Crux sancti patris Benedicti*. The letters which go round the rim of the medal are, at the top, I H S, *Jesus hominum Salvator*. Then, beginning on the right, V R S N S M V . S M Q L I V B. These are two verses, namely,

*Vade retro, Satana, nunquam suade mihi vana.  
Sunt mala quæ libas, ipse venena bibas.*

These verses are to be met with in the *Regula Emblematica Sancti Benedicti*, by Boniface Gallner, a Benedictine monk (published at Vienna, 1780), together with an enlarged copy of the medal; and reference is therein made to two or three other works wherein the same may be found.

The chairman also laid before the Association some antiquities which had been presented to him by Mrs. Kerr, a member of the Association. They consisted of six objects discovered in the Lac d'Antre (Jura), and belong to the later Roman period:—

1.—A small bronze fibula, of a lozenge form, with rather concave edges, each angle terminating in a little boss. It is intersected transversely across the centre by a band, upon which are six slight projections; and above and below are four eyelet-holes with perforated centres. The acus (now lost) has moved in a cleft hinge. This is a type of fibula rarely met with. 2.—*Hamus*, or fish-hook, formed of a twisted bronze wire pointed at one end, and flattened at the other to prevent its slipping off the line. It is contorted from its normal shape; but its length and fashion agree so well with the Roman fish-hooks found in England that no doubt can be felt regarding its original use. 3.—Half of a bronze hinge of a small *loculus*, or box. 4.—Two pieces of bronze wire joined by their ends being bent round and interlinked; probably a portion of a chain. 5.—Fusi-formed apex of the handle of a *lingula*, or spoon, of bronze. 6.—*Annulus*, or finger-ring, of iron, with broad front and narrow hoop. Rings similar to this have been found in London, among Roman remains. We learn from Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, xxxiii, 4, 6) that *annuli* of iron were worn by the Lacedæmonians; and that the first finger-rings employed by the Romans were of this metal. The hand of Marius was decked with an iron ring in his triumph over Jugurtha; and some of the patrician families long continued the use of such rings out of attachment to old customs. But in later times a change of feeling took place; and we find it stated by Isidorus (xix, 32) that finger-rings of iron were appropriated to slaves.



Mr. Corner exhibited a morocco purse of recent time, but resembling in type the money-bag of not less than two thousand years antiquity.

Mr. Gunston exhibited a fine hunting-sword of the time of William III. The grip is of buck's horn mounted with brass; the pommel and guard being embossed with figures emblematic either of astronomy or geography. On each side of the straight blade is stamped a large fleur-de-lis, and the back is serrated cross-wise. In the Meyrick collection are two hunting-swords with curved serrated blades. The earliest is of the time of James II, and is engraved with figures of Spes and Fides. The blade of the second, which is of the time of William III, is inscribed, "*Honi soit qui mal y pense.*" Mr. Cuming has a hunting-sword very similar to Mr. Gunston's; but the brass guard, instead of bearing figures, represents an escalop shell. The name *couteau de chasse* is sometimes given to the hunting-sword; but it ought strictly to be applied to the hunting-knife, which was shorter and more resembling a one-edged dagger in make,—in fact, a continuation of the ancient *culter venatorius*.

Mr. Dunne exhibited an iron dagger of the Holy Vehm, or Secret Black Tribunal of Germany. When the nobles of this country became so tyrannical and oppressive as to hold themselves above the law, secret societies were formed to punish them by death. Familiars and spies of those tribunals obtained admittance as servants into noble families, and were thus enabled to carry out the orders of the society. Princes, and even the king himself, were not free from the visitations of those dread conservators of the public morals. When a noble was charged with any crime bringing him under their notice, an iron dagger, with a cord wound round the handle and blade, was sent to him or found struck into the table of his room, also a written notice commanding him to attend before the tribunal at a certain hour at night, and always in a forest, where he had to admit or defend his acts, and was then punished or acquitted. This dagger has the emblems of death, a skull and cross bones, a figure of Justice with her scales, and on the reverse of the handle a prisoner in chains. On the hilt is a square and compasses, and a trigon, surrounded by rays, emblems evidently masonic, or rosicrucian, adopted by the society.

It was observed that the hilt and blade of the above weapon are cast in one piece, so that it can be nothing else than an ectype of an older one, and it would be desirable to ascertain where the original dagger is preserved. An interesting account of the *Fehm-gerichte*, or secret tribunals of Germany, is given in a volume of the *Library of Entertaining Knowledge*, entitled *Secret Societies of the Middle Ages*.

Mr. C. H. Luxmoore produced a very fine silver medal of an oval form, struck in commemoration of the defeat of the Spanish Armada in July 1588. On the *obv.* a profile bust to the left of Queen Elizabeth, with an enormous ruff, her hair richly decked with jewels, and her dress elaborately ornamented. Legend—ELIZABETH . D . G . ANGLIE . F . ET .

III. REG. On the *rev.* is an island surrounded by the ocean, and on it a palm tree, between the letters E. R. and on the foreground the words—

NON . IPSA . PERI  
CVLA . TANGVNT.

The obverse of the above is similar to one given in Pinkerton's *Medals of England*, pl. vii, fig. 5, and the reverse is very like fig. 7, in the same plate.

In Elstracke's picture of the queen in the dress in which she went to St. Paul's to return thanks for the victory, she appears with a large ruff, open in front and standing out on each side the face like a pair of wings, and the same kind of ruff is seen on two of the armada medals given by Pinkerton; but in Mr. Luxmoore's specimen, and the one first referred to, she wears a huge ruff, which encircles the throat like a wheel. Mr. Luxmoore's medal is in a high state of preservation, and was formerly in the collection of the late Dr. Goodall, provost of Eton.

Mr. Planché made the following communication

#### ON THE SEALS OF HUBERT DE BURGH AND HIS SON JOHN.

"In my paper on the earls of Kent, read at Maidstone on the occasion of our Rochester Congress, and published in the ninth volume of the Society's *Journal* (p. 371), I described a seal, appended to a deed in the British Museum, by which Hubert de Burgh, describing himself only as the king's chamberlain, gives a house in Southwark to one Alan de Wicton, and expressly denominates his seal 'sigilli mei,' although it differed entirely from that generally known as his seal, exhibiting three lions passant in *pale* instead of masculine *gules* and *vair*. The seal was not in good preservation, the edges being destroyed, so as to render it impossible to guess at the legend, and the heads of the lions were not very distinct. Our excellent associate, Mr. Wakeman, has sent me a cast from another impression of this seal, quite perfect, and which he found attached to a deed, also without date, but in which Hubert describes himself 'Camerarius regis Johis,' instead of 'Domini regis camerarius'; and, therefore, Mr. Wakeman remarks, 'as I find Hubert mentioned as justiciary in the close rolls of 1215,<sup>1</sup> the deed must be prior to that year.' He further observes, 'it sets the matter to rest as to its being his own personal arms, as we have here the legend 'Sigillum Hubert de Burgo' only. (See plate 16, fig. 1.) The counter seal is an ancient gem appropriated to this purpose, with the words 'Tego secretum.' (Fig. 2.) This highly interesting seal enables us to perceive that the heads of the lions are not so completely in profile as I judged from the imperfect impression in the British Museum; while at the

<sup>1</sup> He appears to have been so nominated upon the death of Geoffrey Fitz-Piers, in 1214, when king John exclaimed,—“By God's teeth! I am now for the first time king of England.” (Mat. Paris.)

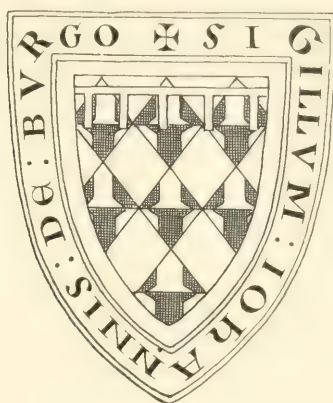
1



2



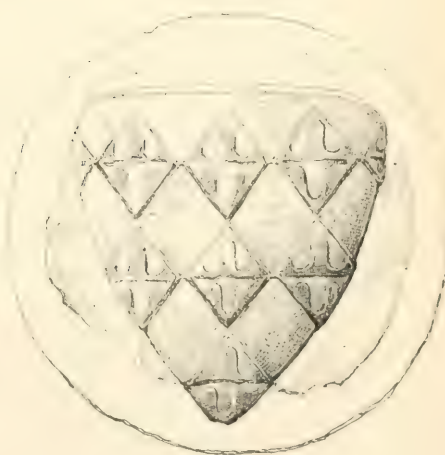
5



3



4







same time they are not so full-faced as the lions in the second seal of Richard I. There is, of course, no means of guessing either at colour or metal, and, therefore, we have still to discover whether Hubert de Burgh at this period actually bore the same arms as his sovereign, or some variation of them in tincture, as did the Giffords of Brimsfield. We have not the exact date of Hubert's marriage with Isabella of Gloucester, the repudiated wife of king John: but we know he was her husband in 1216. If the date of this deed is previous to 1215, as Mr. Wakeman, on good grounds, imagines, it becomes a question whether at that period he was in a position to use the arms of the divorced queen as some have suggested, though legally he could have had no right to do so at any time.

“Mr. Wakeman also favours us with an impression of Hubert's second seal (fig. 3, and its counter seal, fig. 4), with his well known arms masculy, *gules* and *vair*, appended to two documents without date, but from his being described as justiciary, and the mention of his wife Margaret in one, and a certain bishop of Llandaff in the other,<sup>1</sup> judged by Mr. Wakeman to have been executed between the years 1220 and 1227, when Hubert was created earl of Kent; and, therefore, it is fair proof that the masculy coat had nothing to do with the earldom, as I suggested might probably be the case. I found also, in a collection of drawings of seals in the Herald's College, marked Vincent, 88, p. 92, a sketch of the seal of John de Burgh, Hubert's eldest son, displaying the same masculy coat, with a label of five points, and the legend ‘Sigillum Johannis de Burgo,’ (see fig. 5), which, I think, is conclusive as to this coat being at that period the family arms of De Burgh. The deed to which it was appended runs as follows:—

“‘Omnibus has lrās visuris vel auditoris Johēs de Burgo sal'tem in dño. Sciatis quod volo et concedo pro me et herēs meis quod Philippus Bassett tota vita sua reddat pro me et herēs meis per manum suam p'priam illos viginti solidos ad wardam castri Dover quos ego debebam ad fideam wardam p'dei castri de manerio de Beeston quod idem Philippus tenet de me. Ita quod nec ego nec hered' mei debeamus pro p'deis xx<sup>li</sup> aliq<sup>m</sup> districcem facere in p'dco manerio tota vita ipsius Phī salve mihi servicio feodi 2 militum de eodem manerio. Hijs testib' Paulino Penier, Richardo Wanton, Nicholao de Saundford, Stephō Wanton, Juliana de Haga, Rogero de Wanton, Thoma de Batifford, dico et multis alijs.’

“I trust some further light will be thrown on this subject, as a complete explanation of it would afford us some most desirable information respect-

<sup>1</sup> “The second document,” says Mr. Wakeman, “is an agreement between the justiciary and the bishop and chapter of Llandaff, in settlement of a lawsuit which had been commenced between them; and must have been of the same date as the former, as the bishop party to the agreement only received the temporalities 16th of July, 1219, and died 28th of January 1229. But as Hubert is called justiciary, and not earl of Kent, it must have been before 1227.”

ing the usage of armorial bearings at that early period, and enable us to clear up some portion at least of the mystery which still surrounds the matrimonial 'speculations,' as I must consider them, of Hubert de Burgh.

"Mr. Wakeman accounts for the fine preservation of the earlier seal by the fact of its being 'protected by a sort of inverted bag of soft linen fastened to the label, and to all appearance as old as the document itself.'

"While on this subject, I may as well add that a charter of the 11th of Henry III expressly declares that Margaret was 'the first born daughter of our beloved and faithful Hubert de Burgh, earl of Kent, whom he had of Margaret his wife, sister of Alexander king of Scotland;' and that consequently she was the same person as Magota, and not another daughter, as Dugdale supposed her to be; and that the attempt to prove the descent of the De Burghs from Charlemagne, through William earl of Mortaigne and Cornwall, etc., is clearly frustrated, by the scornful refusal of Hubert's nephew, Reimund de Burgh, by Ela countess of Salisbury, when, after informing him that she had lately received letters which assured her that her husband, the celebrated William Longuespée, was alive and well, she added, that 'if her lord the earl had indeed been dead she would in no case have received *him* for a husband, because *their unequal rank, with respect to family*, forbad such a union.'<sup>1</sup> For whatever credence may be given to this anecdote, it is sufficient to prove that the contemporary chronicler believed in this difference of rank, which must have reference to the origin of the families and not to their relative position at that period, the earldom of Kent being in no wise inferior to that of Salisbury: but the De Burghs had been only recently ennobled, while Ela was the heiress of the house of Salisbury, and descended on the female side from the counts of Ponthieu and Brittany."

Mr. Planché also read the following remarks

#### ON AN ERRONEOUS INSCRIPTION IN WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

"I beg to offer to the Society a few observations on an inscription in Winchester cathedral, which has given rise to considerable error, and concerning which neither our own Association nor the Institute appears to have made any comments during their respective Congresses in Hampshire. On the south side of the choir of that cathedral is a monument with the following inscription: 'Intus est corpus Richardi Willhelmi Conquestoris Filii et Beornix Ducis.' On the flat slab of black marble beneath it is another in much older characters, as follows: 'Hic Jacet Ricardus, Willi' Senioris Regis Fil' et Beorn Dux.' Sandford, in his *Genealogical History*, is, I believe, the first to call attention to this monument, of

<sup>1</sup> Matthew Paris.

which he gives an engraving,<sup>1</sup> and tells us, ‘Richard, second son (of William the Conqueror), was born in Normandy, and after his father had obtained the crown came into England, where in his youth (for he had not yet received the girdle of knighthood), as he hunted in the New Forest in Hampshire, he came to a violent and sudden death by the goring of a stag (others say by a pestilent air), and is held to be the first man that died in that place, the justice of God punishing on him his father’s depopulating that country to make a habitation for wild beasts. His body was thence conveyed to Winchester, and there interred on the south side of the choir of that cathedral church, where are two black marble stones inlaid into the new work (built by bishop Fox), one of which stands edgeways in the wall and the other lies flat, both marked with the letter A’ (in the engraving); ‘the manner exactly drawn from the original in this figure, containing an epitaph on the verge thereof in Saxon letters, signifying the person there interred to be duke of Bernay, in Normandy, viz., ‘Hic Jacet,’ etc., and to this he appends this marginal note, in a curious mixture of Latin, French, and English. ‘Bernay ubi Abbathia pulcherrima in la Balliage D’Alenson in Normandy,’ quoting Philippus Brierius *Parallela Geographicæ Veteris et Novæ*, tom. i, part 2, lib. 7, cap. 4, p. 398.’

“Now, as no one ever heard of a duke of Bernay, nor that the young prince Richard bore any other title than that of the king’s son, it was tolerably evident there must be some great mistake somewhere, and that, like the other monumental mystery in that cathedral (the effigy called that of William de Foix), a mass of error was likely to be perpetrated by the repetition in books of authority of statements which were founded on no authority at all. Dr. Milner, however, in the second volume of his *History and Antiquities of Winchester*, appended a marginal note to his description of this monument containing a suggestion, for which he states he was indebted to a gentleman who described for him the mortuary chests in the cathedral, to the effect that the original inscription might refer to two distinct persons, viz., Richard, son of king William the elder, and the Saxon chief, Beorn, nephew of king Canute, who was treacherously murdered by his cousin Sweyn, during the reign of Edward the Confessor. The story, well known to all students of our early history, is thus told by sir Francis Palgrave. ‘Sweyn, the second son of Godwin, had carried off and violated the lady abbess of Leominster, and was for that crime exiled by king Edward. After keeping the sea for some time as a pirate, he returned to England on the promise of a royal pardon. Some delay occurred in passing this act of grace, and it is said that Beorn, his cousin, and even Harold, the brother of Sweyn, pleaded strongly against him at court. The fury of the outlaw knew no bounds: but pretending to be reconciled with his cousin Beorn, he won his confidence, got possession

<sup>1</sup> Copied by Gale in his *Antiquities of Winchester*, without a description.

of his person, and caused him to be murdered.' The particulars of this treachery I will give you in the words of the *Saxon Chronicle*. 'While Godwin the earl and Beorn the earl lay at Swansea, then came Swein the earl and begged Beorn the earl with fraud, who was his uncle's son, that he would be his companion to the king at Sandwich and better his affairs with him. He went then on account of his relationship, with three companions with him, and he led them towards Bosham, where his ships lay, and then they bound him and led him on shipboard. Then went he thence with him to Dartmouth, and there ordered him to be slain and deeply buried. Afterward he was found and borne to Winchester, and buried with Knut, his uncle.' Another manuscript reads more particularly: 'But him his kinsman Harold thence fetched and bore to Winchester, and there buried with king Cnut his uncle.' This Beorn appears as a witness to many charters during the reign of Edward the Confessor, in company with his kinsmen, Godwin, Harold, Sweyn, etc., and is, as they are indifferently styled, dux and earl, the titles of duke and earl at that period not having the distinct and particular meaning attached to them at present. There cannot, therefore, I take it, be a rational doubt of the accuracy of the conjecture of Dr. Milner's friend, which, he observes, however difficult to reconcile with the inscription, 'Intus est corpus,' etc., becomes much more probable upon attending to the original epitaph itself, from which that of bishop Fox is a manifest deviation: but neither the author of the suggestion nor Dr. Milner point out, as they might have done, that the error has obviously arisen from the omission or obliteration of a mark of abbreviation in the original inscription, which should be read thus: 'Hic Jacēt (Jacent) Ricardus, Willi' (Willielmi) Senioris Fil' (Fili) et Beorn Dux.' 'Here lie Richard, son of king William the Elder, and duke Beorn.'

"It is then clear enough that, in 1525, when bishop Fox collected the remains of the Saxon kings and prelates, and of some later princes, who had been originally buried behind the altar or in different parts of the cathedral, and packed them by couples into the mortuary chests which stand on the walls of the choir, the slab which had covered the remains of earl Beorn and prince Richard was placed in its present position, and the words 'Intus est corpus,' etc., cut upon the canopy of the new work by some one who, knowing nothing about Beorn, and misled by the word 'jacet,' considered the epitaph to apply to one person only, and altered 'Et Beorn Dux' into 'Et Beornia Ducis.'

"I fear it is hopeless to expect that the few—the very few inhabitants of Winchester who trouble themselves about the preservation and illustration of their local antiquities, will have influence enough to induce the authorities to correct this obvious error, and add to the catalogue of our English monuments another of considerable historical interest; but, at all events, it shall not be said that two Archæological Societies have



been held in that city without a public remark upon the subject. I would have no tampering with the original inscription, which, from the mention of king William as the elder, is probably of the time of Rufus or Henry I; but let the inaccurate and absurd version of the sixteenth century be effaced, and the English public told in their own language, that a nephew of Canute and a son of the Conqueror, once reposed together beneath that sable stone."

Mr. Syer Cuming read a paper on the "History of Mirrors," illustrating the same by examples from his own collection, and those of Mr. W. H. Forman, Mr. Solly, and Mr. Fitch. The paper will appear in a future *Journal*.

Mr. Vere Irving made some observations in regard to Roman camps, and particularized those of Ardoch, the subject of Mr. Macintyre's paper at the previous meeting.

### MARCH 10.

S. R. SOLLY, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :

*To the Author.* Abury Illustrated, by W. Long, esq., F.S.A. Devizes, 1858. 8vo.

*To the Society.* Proceedings of the Royal Society. No. 29. 8vo.

*To the Publisher.* Gentleman's Magazine for March. 8vo.

*To Mr. Jobbins.* Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal for March. 4to.

Mr. Amiel exhibited a half-sovereign of queen Elizabeth in good condition, but perforated above the bust, apparently to permit its suspension as a medal. It weighs eighty-five grains. It was probably used as a "touch-piece," no medal for that purpose being struck in the queen's reign. Also a token of Bicester, in Oxfordshire: *obr.*, the pewterers' arms, THOMAS BYRGES: *rev.*, OF BISTER. 1665; in the field,  $\text{T}^{\text{B}}\text{M}$ . And a large German medal, of silver, bearing on one side Peace and Justice hand in hand, with a third figure supporting a crowned column. Beneath the group is a cartouch, which once contained an inscription, now erased. Legend, IVSTITIA ET PIETAS CONSTANS ANIMVSQVE TRIVMPHANT. On the opposite side a view of a battle: legend, AVXILIANTE DEO PRESIS VICTORIA VENIT AN. MDC—X—. The numeral (or numerals) between the c and x is erased, and an L engraved in its stead; and whatever followed the date has also been erased, and 29 MAY engraved in its place,—these changes making it appear a medal on the restoration of our Charles II, May 29, 1660. This is not a solitary instance of an alteration made in the original inscription on a medal. Ancient coins have frequently had letters erased from their legends, and others added, as, for example, the one given in this *Journal* (iii, 121), where a well known British gold coin is converted into a unique type of Cunobelin.

Mr. Syer Cuming made the following remarks

ON A LOCK AND KEY OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

"Long as the Association has been established, and countless as are the keys which have been produced before it, it is a singular fact, that up to this time there has been exhibited but three examples of fixed locks, two of which are from Roman *Serinia*, the third being of mediæval fabric. One of the Roman *Sera* is of rectangular form, about three inches by one and a half; the front plate being of bronze, the rest of the lock of iron. It was found in Nottinghamshire, and is engraved in our *Journal* (iii, 299). The second *Sera* was discovered at Colchester, in Essex. It is of bronze, with an angular keyhole, covered with a 'drop' of the same form, and with the hasp still remaining in its place. It is faithfully represented in our fifth volume, p. 139.

"Of the Saxon, Norman, and early mediæval locks, not a fragment has been produced, the next specimen, in point of age, being referable to the latter half of the fifteenth century. The lock here alluded to was obtained by captain Tupper, at Bridgwater, and is of a very enriched Gothic design of the time of Edward IV (*circa* 1470 to 1480). It is mentioned in our *Journal* (x, 107, and xii, 98).<sup>1</sup>

"To the above examples I will now add a portion of another lock, of the time of Henry VII, which, though it cannot boast of size nor elegance, is still not devoid of interest, as it helps to explain the why and the wherefore of the perforations in the webs of some of the olden keys which have been supposed to be nothing more than ornamentation, and never intended to pass the wards of a lock. On examination it will be seen that the long broach of the specimen now before you, is three parts surrounded by a cylindric barrel segmented into three portions by prominent ridges and deep sulcations, the ends presenting stellate figures, the radii partially intersecting each other. The web of the key is perforated to pass over these several stellate wards, and its broad projecting edge is thus enabled to raise the spring, which is unfortunately lost, so that we are still somewhat in the dark how the hasp was freed. The key was only required to open the lock, the latter being so constructed that the closing the cover of the chest to which it was attached caused the spring to fly forward without further aid. The front plate of the lock has square projecting pieces on each side of the key-hole, which are perforated for screws or rivets. The key is five inches and a half in length. Its large annular bow springs from the globose end of the tubular stem, the upper part of which is surrounded by a somewhat conic collar; the whole design and fabric of both lock and key being characteristic of the close of the fifteenth century."

<sup>1</sup> Though the above are the only distinct locks that have come before us, several boxes and caskets have been exhibited with locks worthy of notice, as, for example, the one described in vol. xiii, p. 235.

Mr. Wills also placed before the Association an example of one of those highly finished locks for which Germany was, in former times, so renowned. It is formed entirely of bright steel, measuring eight inches and three-eighths high, four inches and three-quarters wide, and one inch and three-quarters thick; and presents a singular combination of springs and bolts, which are partly visible through four elegantly wrought bars and perforated scroll-work which occupies the upper part of the front of the lock. The bolts are six in number, and are received into as many broad flat staples riveted to a plate which was screwed to the lid of the chest. The "barrel" projects two inches from the front of the lock, the exterior being cylindric, the interior sagittal-shaped, with a triangular broach, both of which turn round with the key. The key is a noble looking instrument, six inches and a half in length. The shaft is triangular to fit the broach, and is surmounted by a capital, from which rise two bold and massive scrolls, which, meeting above in a boss, form the loop. The web has a broad convex edge, with seven deep channels, which pass over two dentated pillars set on each side the key-hole, and which must be passed before the key can act upon the bolts, springs and tumbler.

The date of this curious specimen is evidently about the middle of the sixteenth century, and in all probability was the lock of some huge cist, hutch or chest, wherein muniments, and other things of special value, were deposited. Both lock and key are excellent pieces of workmanship.

The rev. Beale Poste communicated a paper on "Roman Antiquities in Bronze," found in the parish of Marden, Kent. See pp. 257-62, *ante*.

Mr. Syer Cuming also submitted the following

#### NOTES ON THE MARDEN FIND.

"To Mr. Poste's interesting communication I beg to append a few observations, with the view of claiming for the Marden relics a more national parentage and higher antiquity than that assigned to them by our learned member; for if we are to attribute these relics to the Romans, we must at the same time yield up those discovered at Westow, in Yorkshire, which discovery may be paralleled with the one under consideration.<sup>1</sup> There is, however, not the slightest reason to think that the Romans, at the time of their descent upon our shores, employed arms and implements of bronze; everything, in fact, negatives such a supposition. The discoveries at Meon-hill, Gloucestershire, at Hod-hill, Dorsetshire, at Battersea, and other localities, show plainly enough that their *hasta* and *gladii* were of iron; and the Hod-hill encampment, and great gravel pit at the Royal Exchange, further prove that their *serre* and other tools were formed of the same metal. But the Marden relics, like

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the Westow find, see *Journal*, iii, 58.

those found at Westow, are of bronze (or what has been more precisely termed, copper-bronze, for little tin seems to have entered into its composition), and their types are perfect duplicates of what occur in Ireland, a country pre-eminently Celtic, and one which remained unconquered by Roman arms, uninfluenced by Roman arts, whilst the rest of Europe groaned beneath the yoke of the Cæsars. Look at the spear head, and so-called socketed Celt; the blade of the little *bidogan*, or dagger, and the variously fashioned ring money; they are, one and all, perfectly and unmistakably Celtic in design and character. But it may be asked, can anything like the 'knife blade' (see plate 13, fig. 1) be pointed to as occurring among Celtic remains? And here it is necessary to remark that this implement may not be a knife blade but a saw, and if so, as far as I am aware, a unique example of the British *Llif*; for though the marks of its teeth are left on bone and horn, the tool itself has not hitherto been discovered in this country, although well known among the brazen implements of Denmark.<sup>1</sup> Still there remains the urn in which these relics were found, and which urn has at first sight a somewhat Roman appearance about it. A slight examination must, however, convince us that it is not Roman but Celtic. Let it be borne in mind, that the pottery of the stone period is essentially different from that produced in the bronze period. The first is exceedingly rude in fabric, and either sun dried or very imperfectly baked, whilst much of the latter is wrought with greater care, and in some instances fired in a *cyl* or *cyllyn*, as the kiln was denominated by the Britons. But feeling that the urn was the least definite portion of the find as to age and parentage, I submitted a piece of it to Mr. Bateman, of Youlgrave, whose opinion on such matters cannot be too highly esteemed. That gentleman has, with his wonted kindness, favoured me with the following observations, which appear to me to be conclusive: 'The piece of the Kentish urn appears to have formed part of the bottom of the vessel; another piece, sent to me by Mr. Golding, is from the side; but it has been washed with a hard brush in water, so as to abrade both the inner and outer surface. As far as I can see, however, from such imperfect data, I conclude as follows: that the vessel was globular, turned on the wheel, and baked by an imperfect process in the kiln; *the paste essentially Celtic*; the gritty sand most likely suggested by the use of a similar material in the drinking cups of a former period, which were more carefully made than the exclusively funereal vessels; the period very late Celtic, although there is nothing absolutely to determine it to be later than the Roman invasion, as Mr. Poste supposes.'<sup>2</sup> These views, so ably expressed by Mr. Bateman,

<sup>1</sup> See Worsaae's *Afbildninger*, plate 30.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Bateman adds that, "the vase containing the coins of the Iceni, found in Norfolk in 1852, was of what is usually termed Roman pottery; the paste of firm texture, with much *fine* sand; the outside black, with a slight polish



completely coincide with my preconceived opinion; and I therefore unhesitatingly pronounce the urn and the whole of its contents to be Celtic, and of an age anterior to the Roman advent, and before the coins of Cunobeline and other chieftains had superseded the annular currency of an earlier period."

Mr. Bateman and Mr. Syer Cuming laid before the meeting a variety of Celtic and Roman remains, found in the Thames off Battersea. They will be arranged, described, and illustrated, in a future *Journal*.

Mr. Gunston exhibited two war relics dug out of the bed of the Thames near Blackfriars, in 1849. The one is a single-edged, broad-backed dagger, with flat tang, one foot two inches and a half in length; probably of the sixteenth century. The other a cannon ball of hammered iron, weighing four pounds and a quarter, and measuring three inches and a half in diameter; its weight and size indicating it to have belonged to a *long minion*, the bore of which was three inches and a half, carrying a four pounds' ball. In Bourne's *Inventions or Devises* (1578), it is said that the minion required shot three inches in diameter. The gun here alluded to was of smaller size than the long minion, and generally distinguished by the title of *short minion*.

A few years back the half of a stone shot of a demi-culverin, found in Kent, was presented to the Association; and of which a notice was given in the *Journal* (ix, 440).

Mr. Gould laid before the meeting several Asiatic arms of an interesting character; *viz.*, a Maharatta sword with iron hilt; a Persian sword with black horn hilt mounted with brass, the highly wrought cross-guard bearing the figure of a lion couchant, and the blade graven with suns, moons, stars, etc. A Chinese sword, with wooden grip covered with plaited braid, and its heavy, clumsy blade engraved with an inscription. A Malay *kris*, with hilt of black wood, and damasked steel blade. And, lastly, an Indian *khandjar*, said to have belonged to a king of Delhi. The blade is of damasked steel, the hilt of morse ivory, most elaborately carved in every part save the top, which is left plain. The carving represents groups of naked children (in all twenty figures), some having wings; the background or field being covered with innumerable small flowers executed with the greatest skill and neatness. It was remarked, as somewhat extraordinary, that a Mahommedan weapon should be decorated with human forms; but it must be borne in mind that *El-Islâm* is divided into two sects, the *Soonnees* and *Sheahs*, the former rejecting all representations of living beings, the latter permitting them. On the upper and lower part of the hilt on one side are bands of inscription in the Persian character.<sup>1</sup>

produced mechanically, and the inside greyish brown." And I would beg to remark, that when the remains of the Hunton urn were exhibited in 1856, I contended that they were portions of a British, and not a Roman vessel.

<sup>1</sup> For some account of the kris and khandjar, see *Journal*, iii, 27.

The chairman announced that the most noble the marquis of Ailesbury had accepted the office of president of the Association, and had appointed the Congress for the year to be held at Salisbury during the first week in August.

### MARCH 24.

JAMES HEYWOOD, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., in the chair.

The following Associates were elected :

John Stuart, esq., Edinburgh, Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and of the Spalding Club.

George Richard Hilliard, M.D., Chelmsford.

William Enderby, esq., Beckington, near Bath.

Thanks were voted for the following present :

*From the Royal Irish Academy.* A Descriptive Catalogue of the Antiquities of Stone, Earthen, and Vegetable Materials in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. By W. R. Wilde, For. Sec. Dublin: 1857. 8vo.

Mr. R. Horman-Fisher exhibited a fine axe blade, of fawn-coloured horn stone, five inches and seven-eighths in length, ploughed up in a field near St. Catherine's Hill, Winchester, in January last.

Mr. H. Syer Cuning read a paper descriptive of some British antiquities discovered in Lancashire, submitted to the inspection of the Association by the trustees of the Warrington museum, through Dr. Kendrick, which, with illustrations, will appear in a future number of the *Journal*.

A list of the officers, council, and auditors, submitted by the council for 1858-9, was read, and the Annual General Meeting announced to be held on Wednesday, the 14th of April; for report of which, and obituary notices for 1857, see pp. 177-192 *ante*.

---

### *Note to page 278 ante.*

Wood as well as bone has been employed in the manufacture of caltrops. In the Great Industrial Exhibition, held at Dublin in 1853, were several caltrops formed of hard wood, which had been discovered mingled with antiquities of the stone, bronze, and iron periods, at Dunshaughlin and Lough Neagh, Lower Bann river.

For *cross*, p. 277, l. 24, read *cogs*.

# THE JOURNAL

OF THE

## British Archaeological Association.

---

DECEMBER 1858.

---

### ON THE ANTIQUITIES OF CUMA.<sup>1</sup>

BY T. J. PETTIGREW, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A., VICE-PRESIDENT AND TREASURER.

IN February 1853 I had the pleasure of reading to the Association a letter with which I had been favoured by our esteemed associate, Mr. W. Wansey, F.S.A.,<sup>2</sup> in which he gave an account of some excavations at that time being carried on at Cuma by the prince of Syracuse. Mr. Wansey had the honour and gratification of accompanying his royal highness into a newly discovered tomb; and, by his kindness, I shall now have the satisfaction of laying before you some antiquarian relics obtained from this interesting and classical locality.

One of the ablest critics in art of the present day (Raoul-Rochette)<sup>3</sup> has observed, that it is in the abodes of the dead that are preserved, discovered at different periods, almost all the elements of our knowledge; and that we should know almost nothing of antiquity were it not for the care which, in early periods, was taken of the dead; and, he adds, for the profane interest which induces us, at the present day, to violate their last abodes. Who, he pertinently asks, can say how many treasures of erudition the earth preserves in its bosom, with thousands of buried bodies, on that still virgin soil of Greece and Sicily, where, whenever one digs up the

<sup>1</sup> The publication of this paper has been deferred in the expectation of receiving further promised information from Mr. Ashpitel during his stay at Naples in 1854. His remarks having, however, been recently printed in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvii, pp. 316-334, there exists no reason for longer delay, and the paper is now printed as delivered by the author.

<sup>2</sup> See *Journal*, vol. ix, pp. 77-79.

<sup>3</sup> *Lectures on Ancient Art.*

soil a tomb is always to be found; and in this tomb always vases, urns, instruments,—objects once sacred, now simple objects of curiosity or instruction? The history of civilization and of ancient art is to be found, so to speak, written stratum after stratum, century after century, in the bosom of the earth, which conceals its elements. Each story of a tomb corresponds with a historic period: and even beneath the last depths which have been reached they are still to be found, belonging to a period beyond the reach of history. The justice and accuracy of these remarks will be found established in all particulars by a consideration of the subject to which I now invite your attention,—the antiquities of Cuma.

CUMA, or, as it is most generally spoken of in the plural, CUMÆ (Κουμαι), is the most ancient city of the Mediterranean, situated in the Campagna of Italy, and distinguished, as its name, doubtless, was intended to imply, as a spot remarkable for its beauty and fertility. It is about ten miles distant from Naples, and is one of the Greek cities of most renown in ancient history for its connexion with incantations and the Sybilline prophecies. The destructive activity of Vesuvius effected its ruin, and for a long time it has been known only as a place distinguished by the numerous remains which present themselves in the forms of prostrate columns and capitals, excavated rocks, subterranean galleries and sepulchres. Interesting as have been the numerous inscriptions derived from this locality, they must yet be admitted to yield the palm of interest to the researches which have lately been made, and that are again at this time in progress, by the prince of Syracuse, whose zeal in antiquarian researches, and kind attention to antiquaries, demand our warmest acknowledgments.<sup>1</sup> Of all the towns on the coast of Campagna, Cuma has been most celebrated by the poets; and the classical reader will, upon mention of its name, not fail immediately to call to his remembrance

<sup>1</sup> The excavations made by, and carried on under, the direction of the prince of Syracuse, have exhibited Roman tombs from seven to eighteen feet below the soil, built upon Greek tombs extending, in some cases, to the extent even of forty feet beneath; and these, again, upon other primitive tombs at the depth of sixty feet, which has been ascertained to be about the level of the sea. Mr. Ashpitel gives different measurements. The Roman tombs, he says, are from four to five feet only beneath the surface of the ground; the Greek are immediately below these; and at about thirty feet, others of an archaic character. See *Archæologia*, xxxvii, p. 320.



the writings of Silius Italicus,<sup>1</sup> Statius,<sup>2</sup> Virgil,<sup>3</sup> and Ovid,<sup>4</sup> for allusions to its celebrity. It is not, however, to the poets or the Sibylline oracles that I now intend to direct your attention, interesting as these would be, and prominent as they are in the memory of all as perpetuated by the spot still pointed out as the grotto or house of the Sibyl. It is rather with the information given to us of the place by the early geographers that I desire to regard it; and under this view we must necessarily refer to Strabo, Polybius, Athenæus, and other ancient authorities. Writers are far from being in agreement in regard to its foundation: for whilst some contend that it was built by a colony of Chalcidians from Eubœa, and look upon it as one of the earliest Greek colonies on the coast of Italy, Strabo attributes its origin to the Cumæans, a people of Æolia, and to these he adds the Chalcidians. These are points of difference not likely to be easily disposed of; and the authority of the poets will most probably continue to be the most generally received, who have recorded the founders to have been the inhabitants of Chalcis in the Eubœa. Cuma, or Cumæ, however, appears to have been a city renowned for its wealth and the extent of its maritime commerce, and to have risen to great importance. Athenæus attests its wealth and splendour; and various places, among others Messene, according to Thucydides, and Pakeopolis according to Livy, were peopled from it.

At Cuma died Tarquin the Proud, to whom the Sibylline books are recorded to have been offered. Livy<sup>5</sup> acquaints us that, about 417 B.C., at the end of the Latin war, the people of Cuma were included in the general peace, with Capua and the other towns of the Campania. It was independent. It had its own senate; and under Gracchus repulsed the Carthaginians with tremendous loss, although they were marshalled by the renowned Hannibal. In the time of the Romans, Cuma began to decline, owing probably more to natural causes than to those of any other kind. Baiæ offered greater attractions by its sheltered situation and its salubrious climate. In the time of Juvenal<sup>6</sup> it was,

<sup>1</sup> Quondam fatorum conscia Cume, S, l. 8, v, 531.

<sup>2</sup> Miratur sonitum quieta Cyne, l. 4; Silv. 3, v, 65. Euboicæ domum Sibyllæ, 11, l. 4; Silv., 3, v, 24.

<sup>3</sup> Et tandem Euboicis Cumarum ad labitur oris, 10 l., 6 initio.

<sup>4</sup> Carminis Euboici fatalia verba.

<sup>5</sup> Hist. Rom., l. 8, c. 14.

<sup>6</sup> Satyr. iii, v. 3, 4.

according to his authority, almost depopulated; and in the wars between the Goths and the Narses it sensibly deteriorated. In the thirteenth century it ceased to be the see of a bishop, which it had formerly constituted, and it became incorporated with Naples. The remains of an amphitheatre are still visible towards the south; and there are other evidences of its former grandeur. The house of the Sibyl is a farm-house on the hill; and her renowned grotto is exhibited to numerous wondering admirers. The plain is most abundantly strewed with the remains of temples, baths, and sepulchres.

From the record of Giuseppe Fiorelli,<sup>1</sup> published in 1853, we learn that at the close of the preceding year, H.R.H. the prince of Syracuse gave orders to commence some scientific excavations, and at the same time provided ample means for their continuance. The remains of the ancient brick buildings, and the ruins of a grand edifice near the Acropolis of Cuma (which in the second century was called the Temple of the Giants,<sup>2</sup> from the colossal statue of Jupiter Stator there discovered<sup>3</sup>) might have continued simply to excite the attention of the lovers of antiquity, and science would have been deprived of the valuable information relating to an important monument lying close to it, had not the hope of some happy discovery been entertained, and the expense necessarily attendant upon making excavations of such magnitude amply provided for by the munificence and public spirit of the prince of Syracuse. Although some notices<sup>3</sup> exist of discoveries that took place before 1817, the site had remained undisturbed when his royal highness determined to institute a series of archæological researches, commencing his operations upon some earth mounds in which fragments of marble were occasionally met with, and some subterranean cells explored. These, however, appeared, in some former time, to have been filled up. Pursuing the research for some days, and removing a large portion of earth close to the ruins of the Temple of Jupiter, the vestiges of a public edifice belonging to the imperial æra were observed, rich in marble and sculpture, and presenting architectural work of great beauty and regularity.

<sup>1</sup> Monumenti Antichi posseduti da Sua Altezza Reale il Conte di Siracusa, descritti e pubblicati da Giuseppe Fiorelli; Napoli, 1853, 4to.

<sup>2</sup> Now in the Museo Borbonico.

<sup>3</sup> See De Jorio, *Guida di Pozzuoli e cont. paj.* 81 segg.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 1.

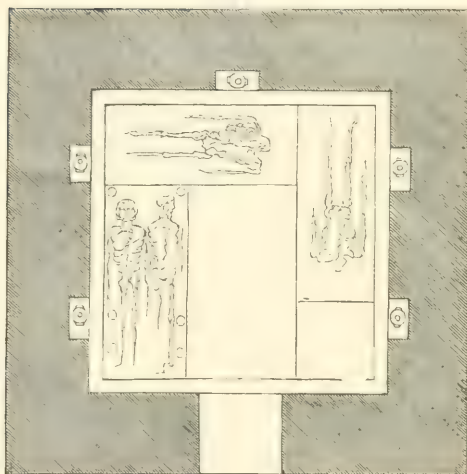
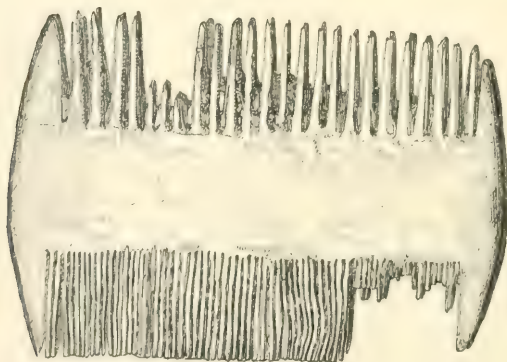


FIG. 3.





Whilst these excavations (the particulars of which it is not my intention to enter into) were being proceeded with, other researches (to which on the present occasion I propose to restrict my observations) were instituted in some Roman tombs, in which were discovered some dupondi of the emperors Germanicus and Domitian, besides a variety of amphore and vases containing calcined bones of the dead. Upon clearing away the earth a sepulchral monument was met with in a subterranean cell, placed among others of less importance, and which had apparently been plundered at a remote period. The upper portion consisted almost entirely of brick and formed a polygon, built upon the tombs of the more ancient construction, the foundations of which were about twelve Neapolitan palms (*i.e.*, nearly ten feet English measure) beneath the surface. This cell, of a rectangular vaulted form (see plate 17, fig. 1), was covered internally with an ordinary white plaster, and had a rough cornice, over which were placed various fictile vessels, lacrymatories, lamps and vases, several of which contained ashes and bones. There was a small narrow door made of common stone, which closed the entrance (*a*), besides which, attached to three of the sides, there were large stones like triclinia, over each of which ashes and fine sand had been scattered, and where also a corpse had been laid. On that to the left of the door, there were two bodies (*b*), with cups and other vessels of coloured glass all round; there was also found a single brass coin of Diocletian, which may probably serve to throw some light upon the epoch of this interment. Not one of the four skeletons contained in this tomb was possessed of a skull, but two of them (those lying to the left of the entrance (*b*)) had its place supplied by the figure of an entire head with a portion of the neck, formed in wax; the eyes, inserted into the mask, were of glass, and upon the head faint traces of hair were observable. Whether the other two skeletons (*c* and *d*) resembled these could not be ascertained, as the dissolution of the bones, the brittleness of the wax, and the quantity of ashes accumulated about the bodies, prevented any decisive conclusion being made regarding them. The prince of Syracuse was the first to enter this tomb, and he was of opinion that the two heads of waxen forms still observable were representations of the male and female character, and that the former had been

placed with his face towards the east. Although the greatest possible care was employed, these objects, so highly interesting and important to art, could not be preserved intact, the first being already separated and broken into several pieces, and upon the slightest touch falling into minute fragments; the other, however, was preserved almost entire (as seen in plate 18, in which the head is reduced to one-half its original size), and was given by the illustrious possessor to the Royal Museum Borbonicum, where it will remain to excite the wonder and admiration of the visitors. The closest examination is reported by Signor Fiorelli to have been insufficient to determine whether the wax mask or head had been originally painted, as in process of time it had become so black as to extinguish the marks of any colour. It appears, however, that it had been moulded from the face of the deceased, and then covered with a fine varnish, to which circumstance, doubtless, is owing its present state of preservation.

Various opinions have been entertained and expressed by Quaranta, Minervini, and others, in regard to the period to which this tomb belongs. Fiorelli thinks that it cannot be later than the time of the Antonines, although a coin was found in it belonging to the third century of the vulgar æra. He further suggests that it may have been used by successive generations of perhaps one family, or by others who, from special causes, were permitted to be buried in the same cemetery. Evidence of two modes of interment, cremation and inhumation, here present themselves, and would appear to indicate two different epochs. A variety of circumstances present themselves before us for consideration, the principal of which may be stated to be in regard to the period to which the tomb belongs,—the periods and modes of burial,—and the peculiarities of the bodies entombed. In regard to the first point, the style, architecture and composition of the tomb may place it as early as the period of the Antonines. The coin, and the only coin found in the tomb, is later. It is of Diocletian, who was proclaimed emperor A.D. 284, and who, in conjunction with Maximian and Galerius, whose great animosity to the Christians is well established, reigned until A.D. 303. To Galerius in particular is attributed the persecution of the Christians carried out during his reign, and which unhappily prevailed to so great



WAX MASK FROM A TOMB AT CUMA





an extent, that it has ever since been known and specified as the æra of martyrs. The first impression upon one's mind in viewing four headless skeletons, is that the individuals to whom they belonged must have suffered punishment by decapitation. Beheading in the time of Diocletian was frequently practised in regard to the Christian martyrs, and the bodies of those deposited in this tomb are very generally believed to have been of those who had yielded their life by public execution for the maintenance of their religious faith. The condition of the skeletons, from the period of time that had elapsed since their burial, was not such as to enable the discoverers of these relics to determine whether the heads had been removed by violence or otherwise, before or after death. The skulls were nowhere to be found in the tomb; the calcined bones in the vases around contained more remains than four skulls would have produced, and evidently belonged to others, showing thereby that the tomb had been used as a place of deposit for others, and in regard to whom the practice of cremation had been adopted. It is not likely that the union of the two practices of cremation and inhumation would be followed in the same case and at the same time,—that the skulls should be burnt and the bodies preserved intact; either the one or the other would have been exercised in relation to the entire individual.

It does not necessarily follow because a coin, a single coin of Diocletian and no other emperor, was found within the tomb, that the interment belonged to that period; it only proves that it may have been placed there at that or a later period. It is likely to have been deposited there at the time of the burial of some of the occupants of the tomb, to denote the period of burial there, in which case the interment would be referred, either to the latter portion of the third century or the commencement of the fourth, during which time we know that the persecution of the Christians raged with great force. Fiorelli attributes the bodies to a later period and persecution, and assigns them to those who suffered with “S. Massenzio, vescovo di Cuma.”<sup>1</sup> From a consideration of the structure of the monument he is disposed to think that the Christians, availing themselves of the use of many ancient things, their poverty and the misery of the times preventing their obtaining new ones, or, per-

<sup>1</sup> Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vi, 227. Venice edition.

haps, from the influence of old habits, might have made use of this tomb, although of pagan origin, for the burial of those of their faith. It was underground, and therefore well concealed from the observation of the multitude, and protected against violence, and, as sometimes in Pozzuoli, idolators and Christians were found buried in the same columbarium,<sup>1</sup> it is probable that the Christians did not disdain to bury their dead in marble vaults, though constructed by pagans and consecrated to the memory of the worshippers of the heathen gods, *profanis tumulis christiani non raro quasi propriis usi sunt*.<sup>2</sup> Fiorelli and others have cited many instances in which the Christians have availed themselves of buildings and various other appliances which had belonged to pagans, and been employed by them in purposes connected with their religion. Mabillon makes mention of the Christians having made use of the sarcophagus of P. Elio Sabino;<sup>3</sup> of Livia Primitiva;<sup>4</sup> of another of metallic porphyry, destined to contain the body of S. Helena, mother of Constantine;<sup>5</sup> of the urn of the young Tiberius Julius Valerianus, in which the remains of S. Andreolo the martyr were placed;<sup>6</sup> and of others mentioned by Raoul Rochette,<sup>7</sup> besides which the Christians took also the sepulchral inscriptions of the idolators to ornament the tombs of the martyrs.<sup>8</sup>

It is not possible at this distance of time, and in the absence of any inscription, to obtain satisfactory evidence as to the time of burial of the four bodies found in the Cuman tomb; whether at different periods, or simultaneously, to which latter opinion one would be disposed to lean on account of the similarity of their intombment; and it is strengthened by the observation of the prince of Syracuse that two of the skeletons, those in which the substituted wax heads were found, appeared to be those belonging to a male and a female. They were deposited on the same

<sup>1</sup> De Jorio, *Metodo per rinov. e frug. i sepolcri degli antichi*, p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> Mabillon, *Iter Italicum*, § 10, p. 81.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 223.

<sup>4</sup> Bottari, *Pitt. e scult.*, tom. i, p. 140, tav. 35, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Lupi, *Epit. Sev. Mart.*, p. 58; Bottari, *op. cit.*, tom. ii, p. 115.

<sup>6</sup> Millin, *Voyage*, tom. ii, p. 122, tav. 28, n. 4-5.

<sup>7</sup> *Mém. sur les Antiq. Chrét.*, in the *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles Lettres*, tom. xiii, p. 174-175.

<sup>8</sup> Mabillon *Sur le Culte des Saints*, p. 48. See also Fabretti, *Inscr. Ant.*, c. 4, p. 307; Muratori, *Anecd. Græca*, p. 138 et seq.; *Anthologia Græca*, tom. i, l. 8, p. 539-604.

slab or bench, side by side, and may not unreasonably be esteemed as man and wife, both yielding their life to the preservation of the integrity of their faith. This seems also to receive support from the discovery of a wooden casket having a bronze lock, which was found near those skeletons, containing articles commonly used by females, two needles or bodkins, or hair pins formed of bone, small portions of gilded terra cotta, which appeared to have formed pieces of a collar, and two small vases of glass in the shape of the beetle. Minervini<sup>1</sup> also acquaints us that in the tomb were found a cylindrical bronze vase furnished with a cover, and that it contained the remains of dried blood,<sup>2</sup> and that there were also two terra cotta lamps. These we know are common in tombs, and that in those of the martyrs of the Church they have sometimes been kept burning as a mark of respect or honour to their memory; but the lamps here found were not of a description that may be considered as devoted to this purpose; they were, it appears, of a bad make and had no decoration; they were not furnished with any Christian monogram or symbol, which would serve to indicate their having served any such holy purpose. They are therefore to be regarded as belonging to the customary deposits with the dead, and were along with the vases, pots, etc., of glass, terra cotta, etc.

We come now to the peculiarities presented by the bodies found in this tomb, and I am not aware that anything of the like kind has been placed upon record. I have carefully made reference to all the authorities with which I am acquainted, and my previous researches in regard to the art of embalming and other processes relating to the dead, have rendered me very familiar with the subject; but I have been unable to ascertain any instance of the substitution of parts of the body. Portraits placed upon or over the faces of the deceased occur in some of the later Egyptian embalmments, in those which belong to the period when the country was under the domination of the Romans, of which I have given a very remarkable instance in my work on the *History of Egyptian Mummies*,<sup>3</sup> from an example I met

<sup>1</sup> *Bulletino Archeologico Napol.*, nuova serie, tom. i, p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Ashpitel states that, by the aid of chemical analysis, these remains have been ascertained to be purely of ink, not blood. See *Archæologia*, xxxvii, p. 323.

<sup>3</sup> P. 100, and plate vii. The original is now to be seen in the upper Egyptian room in the museum.



with in the vaults of the British Museum in 1833. It is, however, a *portrait*, painted in vegetable colours, fixed by a strong gluten, and upon a thin portion of cedar wood, and constitutes, probably, the oldest known portrait in existence. I have seen also another example, which was in the Egyptian collection of Mr. Joseph Sams. Raoul Rochette,<sup>1</sup> speaking of the portraits of historical personages, placed either in temples or other buildings, in relation to the illustration they afford in the history of painting, expressly mentions Roman portraits in wax, using the expression of Pliny,<sup>2</sup> “*expressi cera vultus*,” often called *fumosæ* or *veteras*; by Cicero, *fumosæ imagines*, on account of their antiquity, and the smoked or dirty appearance which they had acquired by time. The busts of their celebrated men in wax are reported to have been placed in the vestibules of their palaces, together with inscriptions in eulogistic phraseology.<sup>3</sup> In the Middle Ages we know that saints and holy persons were represented in wax. These figures were employed in domestic worship, of which they constituted the objects; and Raoul-Rochette says that at the earlier period they were simply masks, cast or moulded (*masques creux*) in wax, and coloured so as to offer an exact representation of the defunct, and that some hair and even garments were added to complete still further the resemblance during life. The art was unquestionably one of celebrity among the Romans, and seems to have been applied in the instance

<sup>1</sup> *Peintures Antiques Inédites*; Paris, 1836, 4to., p. 344. See also Eichstaedt, *De Imaginibus Romanorum Petrop.*, 1806, 4to.; and the Jupiter Olympien of Quatremère de Quincy.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. xxxv, § 2. In the same book, § 44, Lysistratus is named as having been the first to mould in plaster the human figure, and afterwards to run wax into the plaster. The passage is as follows: “*Hominis autem imaginem gypso e facie ipsa primus omnium expressit, cæaque in eam formam gypsi infusa emendare instituit Lysistratus Sicyonius*.” Modelling in wax is well known to have been practised by the Egyptians; but the specimens I have hitherto seen are all referrible to the Greek period. Lysistratus flourished in the time of Alexander the Great. Raoul Rochette (*Lectures on Ancient Art*) names Rhæcus and Theodorus as the reputed inventors of plastic, or statuary in clay, and of the art of casting statues in bronze.

<sup>3</sup> Polybius tells us in his *General History* (lib. vi, c. 2), that, after the burial of any illustrious person, according to the usual rites, an image is made in which both the features and complexion express an exact resemblance of the face, and is set up in the most conspicuous part of the house, inclosed in a shrine of wood. These images are, upon solemn festivals, uncovered, and adorned with great care; and upon the institution of funeral ceremonies for other members of the family, they are taken out and carried in procession. The images are dressed agreeably to the rank and position which, during life, the individuals they are intended to represent occupied.



under consideration, not merely to hand down a similitude of the features of the deceased, but also to supply the loss of the most important part of the body, which had been rendered deficient by decapitation.

A peculiarity in relation to these waxen heads remains still to be noticed, in the discovery of various little thin slips of bone, about eight inches in length, which served to hold fillets, or probably garlands, as objects of ornament, and large bandages of cloth which were lying close to the heads, and had most likely covered the faces of the figures.<sup>1</sup>

From all that has been said or referred to, it does not appear at all unreasonable to suppose in the present case that the bodies found in the tomb were those of Christian martyrs; that after their execution their relatives or friends had possessed themselves of the bodies, and carried them away for private interment; but that they might not have been able to secure the heads, which probably, according to custom or order, might have been thrown into some river adjoining the place of their martyrdom.<sup>2</sup> We have the authority of Suetonius, Tacitus,<sup>3</sup> Pliny, Valerius Maximus, and others, for stating that the bodies of those who suffered capital punishment in Rome were not permitted to be burnt; but that they were cast out, dragged through the streets, and finally sunk in the Tiber. In the capital this practice may have been rigidly enforced; but at the distance of Cuma it might not be strictly carried out, and the bodies, we may easily conceive, might be obtained possession of by affectionate relatives and others, and carefully consigned to the tomb. We may readily imagine the pious

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Ashpitel says that the thin plates of bone, five or six inches in length, were looked upon as having formed what are called the sticks of a lady's fan. (P. 322.)

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Ashpitel suggested that probably the skeletons were those of some wealthy freedman and his family, who had been murdered in some of the tumults so common between the times of Diocletian and Constantine; that their heads were carried away as trophies,—a price probably having been placed upon them. Mr. Ashpitel also suggested "the family might have possessed busts or casts of the heads of two of those, taken during their lives; for it is clear," he says, "from the expression of the features, particularly the nostrils, these heads were not made from casts taken after death."—*Archæologia*, xxxvii, p. 325.

<sup>3</sup> Tacitus refers (lib. v, c. 33) to the instance of Sejanus, and (lib. ii, c. 29) records also that of Pomponius Labes, who committed suicide as a refuge from the hands of the executioner; sentence of death by the law incurring a forfeiture, and also deprivation of the rites of sepulture; while to those who died by their own hand, funeral ceremonies were allowed, and their wills were considered valid.

efforts of sympathizing friends and professors of the same holy religion, anxiously and actively engaged in preserving from insult or degradation the remains of those who had suffered by the maintenance of their religious opinions. It is not, however, necessary to conjecture difficulties in regard to the preservation of the remains of the martyrs, for Fiorelli has directed our attention to the circumstances attending the death of St. Cyprian, as recorded in the *Acta Precon-sularia*, from which it will be seen that, anterior to the period to which we can by any possibility attribute the burial of the Cuman bodies in this sepulchre, the highest honours were even rendered to the memory of the martyrs by their co-religionists without obstruction or the incurring of any penalty.<sup>1</sup> I find also that SS. Donatian and Ragatian, MM., suffered about A.D. 287. Their heads were cut off after they had been subjected to various cruelties, and their bodies buried near the place where they endured martyrdom. The Christians some time after built there a sepulchre, at the foot of which the bishops of Nantes chose their burial place.<sup>2</sup> The bodies were subsequently (in 1145) translated by Albert, bishop of Ostia, to the cathedral, where they remain, and are held in great veneration. The saints and martyrs, Epipodius and Alexander, who were put to death at Lyons in the middle of the second century, were buried, and kept with honour, in the subterranean chapel in the church of St. John, till, in 1562, their remains were scattered by the Calvinists; and it was between these bodies that that of saint Irenæus, who suffered death A.D. 202, was deposited.<sup>3</sup> These bodies had been buried privately by the Christians who had carried them off.

From among the antiquities of Cuma brought to England by Mr. Wansey, I have selected two examples for illustration. The small glass vase (pl. 17, fig. 2) offers, perhaps, one of the most delicate and choice specimens of the kind ever met with. It has become fragile by age, the glass having, from its long entombment in the earth, suffered by oxydation, and it peels off in flakes upon being touched. This beautiful object is well represented in the plate, of its

<sup>1</sup> See *Acta Martyr., Sinc. et Select.*, p. 205 et seq.

<sup>2</sup> Butler's *Lives of the Primitive Fathers, Martyrs, and other Principal Saints*, vol. v, p. 318.

<sup>3</sup> Idem, vol. iv, 237; and vi, 365.

full size. The other example, a comb (pl. 17, fig. 3), of a different material, being of bone, is one of which, but for its having been found in a tomb by Mr. Wansey, coated with earth and discoloured by time, might easily be taken for an article of domestic use in the nurseries of the present day.

## ON EARTHWORKS AND OTHER ANCIENT FORTIFICATIONS IN THE COUNTY OF NORFOLK, VISITED IN 1857.

BY GEORGE VERE IRVING, ESQ.

(Continued from p. 215.)

VENTA ICENORUM. This paper might probably be considered incomplete if I failed to make some observation on the vexed question of the site of Venta Icenorum, in which our Norfolk friends take so great an interest. I have the less hesitation in doing so because I am convinced that in this, as in many other disputes, there is not that amount of discordance of opinion between the advocates of Caistor and Norwich that the first perusal of their arguments would lead one to suppose. Their divergence appears to arise more from a misconception of the question at issue, than from any dispute as to the facts or the conclusions to be drawn from them. The question, as originally propounded by Mr. Hudson Gurney, was, "whether Norwich or Caistor be the Venta Icenorum *of the Romans*"; but in discussing it reference has been too indiscriminately made to collateral evidence which has no direct reference to the point at issue when that is stated in this limited manner. The controversy has consequently been of that skirmishing order which never succeeds in eliciting the truth in the same manner as where the contest is conducted *en champ clos*. The fact is, that the problem to be solved embraces three distinct branches, of which the above question only represents one, viz.,—1, was there a pre-Roman British town called Venta Icenorum? and if so, where was it situated? 2nd, was Nor-



wich or Caistor the Venta of the Romans? And 3rd, to what place was this name applied by the Saxon and early Norman writers?

1. It has generally been assumed, and I think too rashly, that the Ventas of the Roman *Iters* were pre-existent British towns, the capitals of the Belgæ, Silures, and Iceni; and that the subsequent Roman stations retained, if not the same sites, at least the same names. When, however, we demand the proof of this, we find that it exclusively consists of the etymology of the name, and the idea that the Latinized word *Venta* represents the British or Welsh *gwent*, translated *head*; and therefore, in this instance, head town or capital.

If, however, we turn to Owen's *Welsh Dictionary*, we find the word *gwent* receiving a very different meaning in connexion with one of these Ventas. "Gwent, a fair or open region, a champaign. It is a name now confined to nearly all Monmouthshire, but which anciently comprehended parts of the counties of Gloucester and Hereford, being the district of which *Caer Vent*, or the *Venta Silurum*, was the capital." Again, if we refer to the preliminary observations prefixed to the paper of Mr. Octavius Morgan on *Caerwent*, recently published in the *Archæologia*, we find that our esteemed associate, Mr. Wakeman (than whom I do not know a higher authority on a point of the kind), dissenting from this derivation from *gwent*, and maintaining that, so far from the Ventas being the capital cities of the tribes with which they are connected, they actually obtained the name because they did not belong to them at all. His opinion is that they were towns founded as colonies by the Veneti of Gaul, in the same way as the Flemings and Lombards subsequently established themselves. The learned archdeacon of Cardigan has shown how names positively identical bear testimony to the presence of the kindred *Cumraig* tribe of the Italian Veneti. Take, for instance, the *Arx Carventana* in Latium, which adjective necessarily implies the existence of a *Caer Vent*, or *Caer Venta*, in the vicinity; and it would certainly be a bold step on the part of any advocate for *Venta* being the Boadicean capital, to set up this obscure fortress on Mount Algidus as an opposition metropolis to Alba or Rome.

When the right of *Venta Icenorum* to be considered the capital of the tribe is thus open to the most serious doubt, it



becomes impossible for any one positively to fix the date at which this town (of which we first hear in writings as late as the Antonines' *Iters*) was established. It is true that the Veneti are mentioned by Cæsar as trading with Britain; but who can say whether this nation, which, at the time of his invasion, were certainly advanced in civilization, had established their colonies previously, or whether they followed the opening made for them by the Roman arms? The silence of the *Notitie Imperii* as to Venta Icenorum of course leaves this point still more obscure.

At the same time that written evidence thus fails us as to the origin of Venta Icenorum, the other class of testimony by which points of this kind are sometimes determined, equally deserts us. The district in the vicinity of Norwich has produced no remains of the pre-Roman era which could entitle any one to say that it was a more favourite haunt of the British tribes than a hundred other localities in the county. Colonel Leake certainly pitches upon Norwich as a probable site of a British town, or rather as "a position marked by nature for the stronghold of a people less advanced in the art of war than the Romans." But it is needless, in the present state of archæological science, to say that such conjectures are worth nothing beyond the hint they give for the direction of inquiries, and that, until confirmed by the result of these inquiries, they cannot be soberly received as evidence at all.

2nd. Was Norwich, or Caistor, the Venta Icenorum of the Romans, *i. e.* of the Antonine *Iters*, and of Ravenna's. Let me beg your particular attention to the limited nature of this branch of the inquiry, because, as I before hinted, it is from inattention to this that the discussion has mainly arisen. The question is, *where* was the *Roman station* to which these authors refer? a station, moreover, which was a post on the line of march of the legionaries and other Roman troops, although not necessarily occupied permanently by them, this military character being, I believe, admitted to attach to both of the itineraries referred to. I need hardly point out, that while a Roman settlement, like Caistor, was fully occupied, it is utterly impossible to conceive that there should be at Norwich, not three miles distant, another Roman inhabited town, of the size sufficient to be considered a station, and recorded in the *Iters*; and

still more incredible would it be, that a third settlement, of equal importance, existed simultaneously at Taesbury, within the same distance, on the other side of Caistor. Keeping steadily to this point of view, it is surprising what a different complexion it gives to the statements of even the most keen advocates for Norwich ; in fact, considered in this light, they may be almost claimed as supporters of Caistor. Take for instance Mr. Hudson Gurney himself, who, when summing up, observes, “while the Romans, fixing their *permanent* camp at Caistor.....would command the passage into the interior of the country.”

To one who visits both Norwich and Caistor, without being cognizant of the rivalry between them, a doubt on the matter would hardly occur. At the latter you have one of the finest Roman stations in the kingdom ; at the former you only meet with some isolated remains, not more than are consistent with the existence of a single opulent villa.

In this controversy a good deal has been said about our great father in archæology, Camden, having made a mistake in placing Caistor on the Wensum ; and his evidence has, in consequence, been most unceremoniously set aside. I at once admit that he has not only fallen into this error, but into the still greater one of placing Caistor nearer the source of the river than Taesburgh, but what does it amount to ? only to this, that Camden did not personally visit the district ; and, I would ask, who ever supposed that he, in his individual person, actually surveyed every place mentioned in his great work : who of ourselves even, when assisted by railroads and congresses, can hope to see the hundredth part of what he has described. Still no one doubts that Camden availed himself of the best information he could obtain, and therefore his testimony establishes that, even in his day, there was no place in the district possessed of such important Roman remains, as would entitle it to dispute with Caistor the rank of the Roman station.

Following up this attack upon Camden, some persons have most irrationally attempted to get up a connection between Venta and the Wensum, working the horse-chesnut and chesnut-horse style of etymology ; but there is to such reasoners the ready answer,—Find your *Wensum* at Winchester and Caerwent. Independent of which, I would ask, what proof is there that the Roman station stood on the

Wensum, and not on the Taes? Positively none. On the other hand, I think that the evidence of the Peutingerian tables, when it is fairly considered, points to the latter river as that on which the Roman station was situated. The entry in this ancient map is, "ad Taas," that is, to the station on that stream. It will not do to assume this to be Taesbury, because there can be little doubt that this map refers to a period of Roman occupation long after the temporary camp there was abandoned, and, consequently, we may safely refer it to Caistor, the only permanent station on that river.

Another argument stated against the Roman Venta is, that a proper cemetery cannot be found in connection with it. Now, really, this is carrying so far the maxim, "*de non apparentibus et de non existentibus eadem est ratio*," that I may be permitted to remind you, that certain mounds have been shewn to be of a sepulchral nature, and hint the inquiry, whether Norwich Castle hill is too distant to supply this very desideratum.

3rd. To what places did the Saxons and early Norman writers apply the term, Venta Icenorum? I most cordially concur with Mr. Hudson Gurney, that they invariably refer to the present Norwich, and, I may add, that to it must be assigned, not only the Gwenta of William of Poitiers, and the Mænia Guentæ of Ordericus, but Gwentwic and similar names in writers of the Saxon period. Still it must be remembered that all these relate to a time subsequent to that at which, from the reasons I have quoted from Mr. Beale Poste, we must suppose Caistor to have been abandoned. The continuance, or rather the transference of the name of the old station to a town which sprung up, and became the chief place of the district, in Saxon times, is an occurrence too common even for remark. New Windsor is an instance occurring among the castles we have been considering. Such appropriation of names from a classic source, when they could possibly be referred to a place in the same district, was an every day occurrence with the monkish historians, to whose barbarous Latin such a piece of true metal lent a factitious glitter.

In conclusion, I would beg to call the attention of our Norfolk friends to the details of the third Iter in the *Diaphragmata* of Richard of Cirencester, and to suggest the following



as a conjectural reading, for the first idea of which I am indebted to Bradshaw's *Guide*, and the necessity I had to consult it in following the different branches of the Eastern Counties Railway. The Iter in question runs from London to Lindum Colonia, and takes in its course "Venta Cenom," the two latter places being admitted to be Lincoln and the Venta Icenorum, the last being placed at Caistor or Norwich, according to the date to which we suppose the Iter refers. Now in this Richard differs from the Antonine tables, which give a special road from London to Venta, ending in that place; and it appears odd that, to get to Lincoln, he should have carried his traveller so much to the East. The distance, too, from Venta to Camborico Colonia xx., combined with the corresponding distances onward, has proved a serious puzzle, insomuch that Stukely, founding on certain asterisks which follow the words "Venta Cenom XXIII.," intercalated another station, for which he invents the name of "Icianis XXVIII." What I propose is, to give to these asterisks the force of Bradshaw's black line, viz., "*Here ends the Venta Cenom Branch,*" and then cast back to Sitomagus or Cambretonium as the point from which the "xx.m." to Camborico Colonia are to be measured. If this last is to be considered *Cambridge*, the distances will work well; but the whole of this Iter is so open to dispute, that I must apologize for having detained you, with even an allusion to it, at the close of a paper the length of which must have already more than sufficiently taxed your kind forbearance.

I may add, however, that Norfolk possesses two specimens of the extended earthwork dykes of the same class as the Wansdyke,—the Cattrail, and those for which the adjacent county of Cambridge is so remarkable. The one called Bun or Boundsdyke partially surrounds the town of Attleborough, and is several miles in length; the other stretches from the river Nar, at Narborough, to the Little Ouse, which it strikes a short distance to the west of Brandon. As I purpose calling the attention of the Association, on some future occasion, to the general subject of these dykes, I shall at present refrain from entering into a detailed description of these examples, and content myself with this passing mention of them, without which any notice of the earthworks of Norfolk would be manifestly incomplete.

---







1



2



3



4

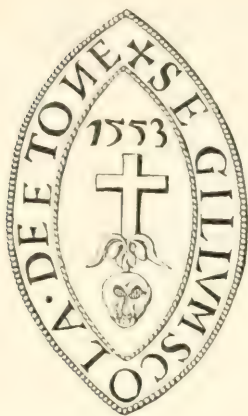


5



6





1



2



3



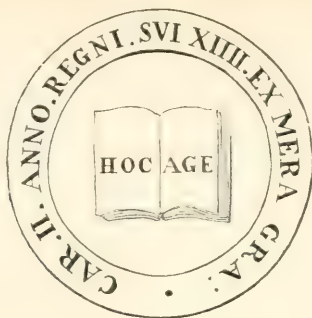
4



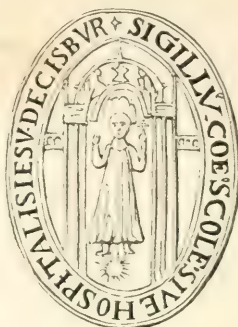
5



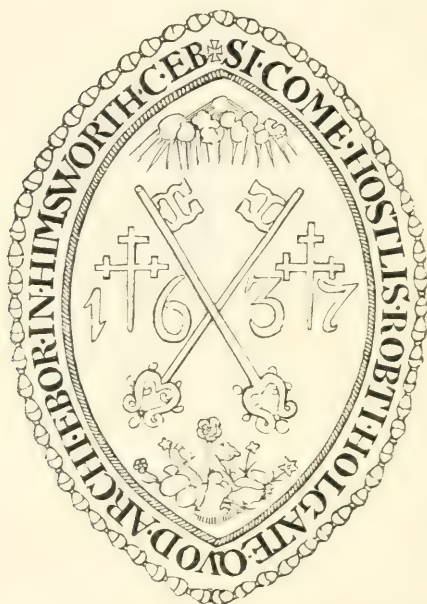




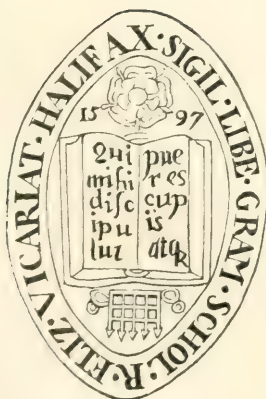
1



2



4



3



5

## NOTES ON THE SEALS OF ENDOWED GRAMMAR SCHOOLS IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

BY T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., AND TREASURER.

(Continued from vol. xii, p. 234.)

IN resuming the account of the several grammar schools to which seals have been granted, I would observe that an able and popular writer has regarded the free grammar schools of the country as the classic institutions which form the peculiar glory of England,—“endowed foundations, to which those resort who are rich and pay, and those also who, being poor, cannot pay, or cannot pay so much. This most honourable distinction amongst the services of England, from ancient times, to the interests of education (a service absolutely unapproached by any one nation of Christendom) is among the foremost cases of that remarkable class which make England, whilst often the most aristocratic, yet also, for many noble purposes, the most democratic of lands.”<sup>1</sup>

The county next in succession to claim our notice, according to the alphabetical arrangement I have adopted, is SURREY. There are three schools in this county possessed of seals: Camberwell, St. Mary Overy, and St. Olave.

CAMBERWELL. The free grammar school of this place owes its foundation to the rev. Edward Wilson, M.A., and dates from the reign of James I, at which time the founder was vicar of the parish of Camberwell. The letters patent by which the school is constituted are of the 29th of September 1615. The governors are named a body corporate and politic, and they have granted to them a common seal, in which the schoolmaster is seated and surrounded by his scholars. The legend reads: THE . FREE . SCHOOL . OF . CAMBERWELL . FOUNDED . BY . EDW<sup>d</sup> . WILSON . CLERK. (See plate 19, fig. 1.) The master is directed to be chosen out of the founder's kindred (if fitted for the office) in preference to others; a priority of selection is then given from among those who may have been educated at the school, or born in the parish; afterwards, to the public in general. The master is to be “a man of wise, sociable, and loving disposition;

<sup>1</sup> De Quincy's *Autobiography*, vol. i, p. 37.

not hasty and furious, nor of evil example: such a one as can discern the nature and disposition of every child, if such a one can be gotten." And he is forbidden to let out the school to any person, or to keep any house of victualling, gaming, etc.; nor is he to frequent ill houses, or practise physic without the consent of the governors. The scholars are to be children and youths of the parish, twelve of whom, among the poor, are to be taught free of expense. The son of every oldest warden is also, for the latter year of his office, to be educated free; and the remaining scholars are to make quarterly payments to the master, subject to the regulation of the governors. Each scholar has to pay 5s. quarterly, and 3*d.* in addition for brooms and rods, and the week after Michaelmas to contribute a pound of good candles. The amusements of the boys are attended to, and directed to consist of shooting with long bows, chess, running, wrestling, and leaping. All money playing or gaming to be punished, and the offenders expelled.

ST. MARY OVEREY, now called St. Saviour's, Southwark, had a common seal granted, as seen on its legend (plate 19, fig. 2), in 1573: SIGILLVM . SCOLLA . SANTE . SALVATORIS . 1573. The school had its origin in 1539, upon the dissolution of religious houses, in accordance with the petition of the inhabitants of the parishes of St. Margaret and St. Mary Magdalen, addressed to Henry VIII, for a grant of the church which had belonged to the priory. This petition, supported by the powerful aid of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was successful in its issue, and the consequence remains to this day in the beautiful church so well known to antiquaries. Two years subsequent to this purchase, the parishes above named were united together by an act of parliament, and from that time have been designated by the name of St. Saviour. The church of St. Margaret has disappeared; but the chapel of St. Mary is still extant. In the reign of Elizabeth that queen granted a charter for the establishment of the school, dating 1562, in which it is denominated as "one grammar school for the education, institution, and instruction, of the children and youths of the parishioners and inhabitants of St. Saviour, to be called the Free Grammar School of the Parishioners of the Parish of St. Saviour in Southwark." The queen, however, contributed nothing towards its endowment, and the charter



simply conferred upon it the rights of a corporate body with succession. By this instrument the high master is directed to be "a man holy in body, honest, virtuous, and learned in good, clean Latin literature, and also in Greek, if any such may be got; a wedded man, a single man, or a minister that hath no benefice with cure nor service that may let his doing business in the school." The scholars were limited to one hundred. No school was erected until after 1585, as we learn from a patent, 33rd Elizabeth. I know not, therefore, why the date of 1573 appears upon the seal. The statutes and ordinances of the school were enlarged in 1614, and were subscribed by Thomas bishop of Winchester; in which the master and usher are enjoined to "wisely mix severity and lenity; by all means avoiding such correction as to the governors shall seem unreasonable, ever proposing, by precept and example, to clear up and put life and spirit into the capacity, memory, love, patience, diligence, gentleness, and moderate desire, in the scholars; and prevent all means that may make them dull, forgetful, weary, impatient, negligent, stubborn, and careless of good report, or have cause to speak ill of the school, or forsake it." Among the exercises, to the exclusion of playing for money or betting, are specified long-bows, chess, running, wrestling, and leaping. A scholarship at Oxford and another at Cambridge were founded by one of the governors, John Bingham, esq. The celebrated Dr. W. Heberden received a portion of his education at this school, and bequeathed to it the sum of £500, three per cents., to increase the salary of the master. The seal represents the master teaching his boys; and on the floor figures the ordinarily dreaded instrument of punishment and provocative of learning. Initial letters, T. C., are on the outer side of two columns with spiral ornament. I conceive them to denote Thomas Cowper, who was bishop of Winchester from 1583 to 1595, and therefore visitor of the school at the time when the schoolroom was built.

ST. OLAVE'S IN SOUTHWARK, now St. Olave's and St. John's. Of this school we possess some memoranda collected by the research of our associate, G. R. Corner, esq., and from which we learn that the school was a foundation of Elizabeth, by letters patent bearing date July 26th, 1571, the thirteenth year of her reign. This charter received confirmation in the 26th of Charles II, A.D. 1675.

The will of Henry Leeke, of the parish of St. Olave, Southwark, brewer, was proved in the Prerogative court of Canterbury, April 23, 1560; and by this instrument it appears that he bequeathed a small sum to be applied towards the maintenance of a free school in the parish. This induced the churchwardens and others to ascertain the feelings and benevolence of the parishioners towards the same object. In 1567 the vestry resolved upon the establishment of a free school, but they failed in obtaining an act of parliament for the purpose; and it was not until 1571 that the inhabitants succeeded in their application to the queen, who founded "The Free Grammar School of Queen Elizabeth, of the Parishioners of the parish of St. Olave, in the county of Surrey", governors appointed, and a common seal granted to the body corporate. Sufficient property to support the school was not, however, acquired until 1579, when the vestry passed over "Horseydowne (now Horslydown) to the use of the schoole." This property consisted of a large grazing field, down, or pasture, for horses and cattle, containing about sixteen acres, and was assigned to the governors of the school. Various legacies were bequeathed by different individuals to aid the endowment. St. John's being made a distinct parish in the 6th George II, the inhabitants were admitted, by act of parliament, to enjoy all the benefits of the free school in common with the inhabitants of the old parish, and the school now bears the joint title of the "School of St. Olave and St. John." Horslydown has proved a valuable property, and the income of the school derived from it is considerable. The old school was in Churchyard-alley, nearly opposite St. Olave's church; but it no longer stands on its original site. The ground being required for the approaches to the new London bridge, a piece of ground was granted by the corporation of London for the erection of a new school in Duke-street. The demands of the London and Greenwich railway, however, prevented the building; and in November 1834, Charles Barclay, esq., M.P., then warden, laid the first stone of a school in Bermondsey-street, which has also been destined to removal, to accommodate the London, Brighton, and South Coast railway. The school was then carried on in a temporary building in Maze Pond; and it has at length found a locality in Tooley-street, where a structure has been raised worthy of the object to which it is appropriated.

In addition to the classical school, there is an English school. The tuition is of the best kind; the masters are eminent in their attainments, and have liberal salaries.

The seal of the corporation bears the date of 1576, which is preceded by a rose, the cognizance of Southwark. The common representation of a schoolmaster with rod in hand, and pupils before him, occurs; and around it the legend, THE SEALE OF Y<sup>E</sup> FREE SCHOOLE OF Y<sup>E</sup> PARISHONERS OF ST. OLAVE'S, SOVTH., FOVNDEN BY Q. ELIZ. (See plate 19, fig. 3.)

WARWICKSHIRE. In this county four schools have common seals: Atherstone, Birmingham, Nuneaton, and Rugby.

ATHERSTONE. A royal charter of queen Elizabeth, dated December 22, 1573, establishes the free grammar school of this place. It originated in a legacy of Thomas Fulner, of London, merchant, a native of Atherstone, who bequeathed £200 to purchase lands upon which should be erected a school. This benevolent project received great aid from sir William Devereux, knight, who assured to the inhabitants certain lands and tenements dependent upon obtaining the queen's letters patent. This was effected, governors were appointed, and a common seal granted. (See plate 19, fig. 4). It bears the date of 1608, and figures a slab of stone, upon and about which are snakes, probably the arms of the town, as those of the Friary (in the chancel of the church of which the seminary was held) were, *or*, three piles *gules*, a canton *ermine*. The legend reads: O/C SIGILL. SCHOLÆ. ADDERSTONIEN. The governors are all to be residents in Atherstone, and no vote is allowed to be given by proxy. The school house is in the township of Whittington, and was built in 1720. In 1607 certain ordinances were agreed upon between the governors and the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and to this proceeding must be assigned the date placed upon the seal.

BIRMINGHAM. On the 25th October, 1383 (the sixth year of the reign of king Richard II), Thomas de Sheldon, John Colleshull, John Goldsmyth, and William *atte* Stowe (four benevolent individuals) obtained license from the crown to grant lands for the maintenance of two chaplains to celebrate divine service daily, to the honour of God, our blessed Lady his mother, the holy cross, St. Thomas the martyr, and St. Katherine, in the church of St. Martin at Birmingham. Ten years subsequently another patent was obtained from



the sovereign to found a guild, or perpetual fraternity, among the inhabitants of Birmingham, and to erect a chantry of priests to perform divine service for the souls of the founders and members of the fraternity. At the dissolution, in the reign of Henry VIII (1546), the annual income was valued at £31: 2: 10; and the lands continued as the property of the crown until the 5th of Edward VI (1552), when the king granted and ordained that from thenceforth there should be a free grammar school in Brymyncham, to be called THE FREE GRAMMAR SCHOOL OF KING EDWARD THE SIXTH; and the possessions of the guild of the Holy Cross were made over to support and maintain the same, governors were appointed, and a common seal assigned to them. (See plate 19, fig. 5.) In 1676 statutes and orders were drawn up, authorized by the bishop of the diocese, and ratified by Charles II in 1678, towards the close of whose reign the charter was surrendered to the king, contrary to the desire of several of the governors. It became necessary, therefore, to obtain a new charter from James II, which was granted February 20, 1685, and another seal (see plate 19, fig. 6) was given to the school. This represents the sovereign seated, holding the globe and sceptre, and wearing the crown. On each side are two figures kneeling, and on the sides of the throne a fleur-de-lis and a rose. Around we read:—SIGILLVM . CŌE . G . P . LIBERE . SCOLE . EDVARDI . VI . IN . BRI-MICHAM.

The ejected governors commenced proceedings in chancery for the recovery of the *original* charter; and after six years litigation obtained a decree in their favour, were reinstated in their functions, the charter of James II annulled, and that of Edward VI restored and confirmed. Laws and ordinances for the better government of the school were drawn up, but no visitor was appointed; and in 1723 a commission was issued, under the great seal, to inquire into the proceedings of the governors. Attempts were made to resist this inquiry; but it was confirmed. In this period the original seal was lost, and the one granted by the more recent charter was employed till its recovery in 1801, when it was found in the possession of Mr. Beal of Leicester; and the bailiff of Birmingham was thereupon directed to make purchase of it, which he did for the sum of two guineas. A similar occurrence took place at Ashborne, in Derbyshire.



(See *Journal*, vol. xii, p. 64.) This school is well endowed, and in a very prosperous condition.

NUNEATON Free Grammar School is a foundation of the time of Edward VI. It was effected in 1553, as marked upon the common seal (pl. 20, fig. 1) which presents a cross over a death's head, and around it is the legend, reading, + SEGILLVM . SCOLA . DE . ETONE. The endowment consists of land which had formerly belonged to the Trinity guild of the city of Coventry.

RUGBY. The fame of this school, more particularly under the government of the late Dr. Arnold, and the number of eminent scholars it has sent forth into the world, are too well established and notorious to need remark. It owes its foundation to one of the many eminent citizens of London who have meritoriously handed themselves down to posterity by manifesting the interest they felt in the progress of education, the advancement of useful learning, and the alleviation of the distresses of their fellow creatures. Lawrence Sheriff, a native of Rugby, citizen and grocer of London, in the year 1567 willed £50 towards the building of a school house and alms houses in Rugby. This, with other bequests by the same donor, laid the foundation of this great seminary of learning. Its eminence, however, did not appear until 1777, and was in a great measure owing to the exertions of sir John Eardley Wilmot, late lord chief justice of the Court of Common Pleas, who became a trustee of the school; and under his direction an act was drawn up, and obtained, by which the property descending to it from Lawrence Sheriff was properly and beneficially settled; and it was enacted to be for ever called "The Free School of Lawrence Sheriff"; the trustees were named as "of the Rugby charity founded by Lawrence Sheriff, grocer of London"; and a common seal was granted, around which was inscribed, THE TRUSTEES OF THE RUGBY CHARITY FOUNDED BY LAWRENCE SHERIFF; whilst in the centre were engraved the arms of Sheriff, consisting of, *azure*, on a fesse engrailed between three griffins heads erased *or*, a fleur-de-lis of the first, between two roses *gules*. Crest,—a lion's paw erased *or*, holding a branch of dates, the fruit of the first in the pods *argent*, the stalk and leaves *vert*. These arms were granted to Sheriff, or Shrieve, of Warwickshire, in 1559. (See pl. 20, fig. 2.)

A new charter of the trust was obtained in 1814, by which the school is at this time regulated and conducted.

WESTMORELAND.—APPLEBY. The free grammar school of this place has a common seal. The foundation is of 21st Elizabeth, A.D. 1574, when, by letters patent, her majesty endowed it with £5 : 10 : 8 *per ann.*, payable out of the rents accruing to the crown within the county of Westmoreland. From that period to the present day, the same sum, neither diminished nor increased, has continued to be paid by the receiver-general or his deputy. There are ten governors, the greater part of whom must necessarily be residents in the town of Appleby, to whom the government of the school is intrusted. Various bequests and exhibitions have been granted for its support and benefit, and many eminent scholars have received their education within its walls. The seal records the aid rendered to the school by Lancton, Spenser, and Hartley. Their names appear upon it; and the hart in the centre may be considered as derivable from the latter benefactor. The legend reads, SIGILLVM. APPELLIANÆ. SCHOLÆ. HARTLEY. LANCTON and SPENSER are engraved in the shield. (See plate 20, fig. 3.)

KIRKBY LONSDALE free grammar school is another establishment in Westmoreland having a common seal, of which the original is now for the first time engraved. This school was founded by letters patent, granted by queen Elizabeth in the 33rd year of her reign (1591), by which twenty-four governors were appointed to rule over it. Mr. Godsalve gave £100, leaving to the discretion of the rev. Mr. Bland, rector of Whittington, to apply it to the purposes of a school. Mr. Bland proposed Kirkby Lonsdale as its situation, provided the inhabitants would give a like sum; which being done, queen Elizabeth granted the necessary letters patent for its foundation. Lady Elizabeth Curwen gave the ground upon which the school was built, and also certain parcels of land towards its maintenance. Mr. Tenant likewise granted a rent-charge of £20 *per ann.* for the use of a schoolmaster; and Mr. Henry Wilson, in 1628, pulled down the old school-house, an indifferent building, and erected another, more spacious and commodious, at his own expense, giving also £120 for the support of an usher. His brother, the rev. Thomas Wilson, gave £200 for three exhibitions for poor scholars to Christ College, Cambridge; and Mr. Henry Wil-

son, £400 for seven exhibitions for poor scholars to Queen's College, Oxford. The school is open to the children of the parishioners indefinitely, who, however, pay a small sum at Shrovetide, under the denomination of *cockpenny*. The seal (of which no mention is made by Nicholson or Brown in their *History and Antiquities of Westmoreland and Cumberland*), for an impression of which I am indebted to our respected associate, Mr. W. Carr Birdsworth, of Lytham, who was educated at this seminary, is very curious, and in its arrangement somewhat singular. It represents (see plate 20, fig. 4) a schoolmaster seated, habited in the costume of the time of Elizabeth, holding in his left hand a book, from which he is teaching his pupils, two of whom are standing before him, whilst from his right hand depends the dreaded instrument of punishment to those who may be found inattentive or wanting. In two circles on the shield are the following:

+ STET + SCHOLA + DE + KIRKBY + IN + LONSDAL +  
 DEVS + ET + PIA + PRINCEPS +

+ PVERIS + ELISABETHA + SCHOLIS + DY + FAVEANT +

Around the edge or outer frame of the seal, Mr. Birdsworth tells me, the following lines were engraved, which may perhaps be regarded as a rude translation of the preceding Latin on the shield:

"O God beginne, proceede O queene,  
 That Kirkby schoole may stande;  
 God with successe poor scholars blesse,  
 For schooles let princes joyne hande."

**WORCESTERSHIRE.** In this county, Hartlebury Free Grammar School has a common seal. Accounts of this school are extant, according to the late Mr. Carlisle, as far back as the year 1400; but no satisfactory particulars in regard to it are to be obtained prior to its deed of foundation by Elizabeth, who, in the first year of her reign, granted to it a charter, and it was thereupon named THE FREE GRAMMAR SCHOOL OF QUEEN ELIZABETH. Twenty governors were appointed, and a common seal appropriated to it. This (see plate 20, fig. 5) represents the Virgin and Child under a canopy, and around we read, SIGILLV.GVBERNATORV. LIBERE. SCOLE. IN. HARTILBVRY. A° 1558.

Among the statutes and ordinances made in the 6th Elizabeth, and approved by the bishop of Worcester, for the



government of this school, is one which gives to the school-master "the profits of all such *cock-fights* and *potations* as are commonly used in schools."

**YORKSHIRE.** The schools of this extensive county are numerous; and of those possessing a common seal, I present the following,—Bradford, Guisborough, Halifax, Hemsworth, Pocklington, Richmond, Ripon, and Sheffield.

**BRADFORD.** Although the free grammar school of Bradford carries on its seal the reign of Charles II, it was founded certainly as early, if not earlier, than that of Edward VI. It was, however, incorporated in the 18th Charles II (1663), and called **THE FREE GRAMMAR SCHOOL OF KING CHARLES THE SECOND AT BRADFORD.** The seal represents an opened volume, with the inscription, *HOC AGE, and around, CAR. II. ANNO. REGNI. SVI. XIII. EX. MERA. GRA.* (See plate 21, fig. 1.) Round the silver handle of the seal is engraven, *Ex dono PETRI SUNDERLAND, armigeri.*

**GUISBOROUGH.** In the 3rd Elizabeth (1561), letters patent were granted to Robert Pursglove, clerk, the last prior of Guisborough, to found the **GRAMMAR SCHOOL and HOSPITAL** of Guisbrough, or Giseburn in Cleaveland. The Cambridge Camden Society published the brass of bishop Pursglove in their *Illustrations of Monumental Brasses*, taken from his tomb in the chancel of Tiddeswell church, Derbyshire. The inscription offers an example of the historical epitaph which became common after the Reformation, and may interest the reader:

"Under this stone as here doth ly a corps sumtyme of fame,  
In Tiddewell bred and born truly, Robert Pursglove by name;  
And there brought up by parents care, at schoole and learning trad;  
Till afterwards, by uncle dear, to London he was had,  
Who, William Bradshaw hight by name, in Pauls w<sup>ch</sup> did him place,  
And y<sup>re</sup> at schoole did him maintain full thrice 3 whole years space;  
And then unto the Abberye was placed as I wisse,  
In Southwarke call'd, where it doth ly, Saint Mary Overis.  
'To Oxford then, who did him send, into that colledge right,  
And there 14 years did him find, wh. Corpus Christi hight.  
From thence at length away he went, a clerke of learning great;  
To Gisburn abbey straight was sent, and plac'd in prior's seat.  
Bishop of Hull he was also, archdeacon of Nottingham,  
Provost of Rotherham colledge too, of York eak suffragan.  
Two gramer schooles he did ordain with land for to endure,  
One hospital for to maintain twelve impotent and poor.



O Guisburn, then, with Tiddeswell town, lament and mourn you may,  
 For this said clerk of great renown lyeth here compact in clay.  
 Though cruel death hath now down brought this body which here  
 doth ly,  
 Yet trump of fame stay can he nought to sound his praise on high.

*Qui legis hunc versum crebro reliquum memoreris :  
 Vile cadaver sum, tuque cadaver eris."*

Then around the slab we have—

"Crist is to me as life on earth, and death to me is gaine,  
 Because I trust through Him alone salvation to obtain ;  
 So brittle is the state of man, so soon it doth decay,  
 So all the glory of this world must pas and fade away.

"This Robert Pursglove, sometyme bishoppe of Hull, deceased the  
 2 daye of Maii, the year of our Lord God, 1579."

The statutes of the hospital and school were drawn up by Pursglove himself, and bear the date of August 11, 1561; and among other ordinances prescribe that all scholars of the third and fourth forms "shall speak nothing within the schoolhouse but Latin."

The seal is interesting, representing the Saviour under a canopy, and around we read, SIGILLV . COE . SCOLE . SIVE . HOSPITALIS . IESV . DE . GISBVR. (See plate 21, fig. 2.)

HALIFAX, or free grammar school at *Skircoat*, in the parish of Halifax, was founded by Elizabeth under charter February 15, 1585, governors appointed, and a common seal granted to plead and be impleaded. (See plate 21, fig. 3.) This consists of the sacred volume open, on the pages of which are, *Qui mihi discipulus puer es cupis atque*, with the rose above, and the portcullis below. The date appears divided on each side of the former, 1597; and the legend reads, SIGIL . LIBE . GRAM . SCHOL . R . ELIZ . VICARIAT . HALIFAX. The schoolhouse was given by Gilbert earl of Shrewsbury, Edward Savile, esq., and sir George Savile, knight, in 1598. The foundation charter was vitiated by the neglect of the governors; and the inhabitants of the parish of Halifax presented a petition to king George I for a renewal of it. In 1727, a new charter of confirmation was granted, and governors appointed. In 1730, George II confirmed this charter, and statutes were drawn up by Dr. Hayter, successively bishop of Norwich and of London, by which the school were to be governed, and the books to be read pre-

scribed. In Latin were Phædrus, Cornelius Nepos, Cæsar, Terence, Livy, Tully, Ovid, Virgil, and Horace; in Greek, the New Testament, Xenophon, Isocrates, Demosthenes, Hesiod, Homer, and Sophocles. The master is particularly required to make his scholars "perfect grammarians, and not to carry them on too hastily from prose to verse, or from Latin to Greek."

HEMSWORTH. The hospital of Hemsworth was founded in 1555, by Robert Holgate archbishop of York, who by will bequeathed various property to this benevolent purpose. An act of incorporation was obtained in 1557. The estates are considerable, and trustees were found to abuse the confidence reposed in them. Various suits in Chancery were in consequence instituted; and it was not until 1816 that a decree was pronounced by which this establishment is duly and properly conducted.

To the same benevolent individual the free grammar school at Hemsworth is indebted for its formation. This dates back to about the last year of the reign of Henry VIII (1546), at which time Holgate or Halgate was archbishop of York, and president of the king's council established in the northern parts of England. The letters patent bear date the 24th October, 38th Henry VIII; and these give to his grace, or his heirs or assigns, the power to found and establish three free and perpetual schools,—one within the close of the cathedral of York; another in Heymsworth, in the West Riding of York; and the third at Old Malton, in the North Riding. The seal (see plate 21, fig. 4) is rather that of the hospital than the school, and exhibits a portion of the arms of the archbishopric,—*gules*, two keys in saltier; on each side there is also a cross fitchée; rays of light showing from above, and flowers springing from the ground below. The date of 1637 is on the shield. Around we read, + SI . COME . HOSTLIS . ROBTI . HOLGATE . QVOD . ARCHI . EBOR . IN . HIMSWORTH . C . E . B .

POCKLINGTON. The free grammar school of this place was founded by John Dolman or Doweman, archdeacon of Suffolk, who died in 1526. He richly endowed the establishment in the first instance, entrusting its management to the brethren of the guild there, but after the dissolution to the master and fellows of St. John's college, Cambridge. The seal is large, representing a figure of the infant Saviour be-

tween those of the Virgin, crowned, carrying also the infant Christ, and St. Nicholas, whose identity is established by the tub and the children. There is also a figure kneeling and praying before the Saviour. Around is the legend, rather indistinct, but reading, SIGILLUM COMMUNE FRATERNITATIS NOMINIS JHESVS, BEATÆ MARIE, SANCTI NICHOLAI DE POKLINGTON. The sacred monogram, I.H.S., occurs six times on the shield. (See plate 22, fig. 1.)

RICHMOND. The burgesses of Richmond founded and endowed the free grammar school of the place, as appears by letters patent granted by queen Elizabeth in the ninth year of her reign (1568), and it is designated *Libera Schola Grammaticalis Burgensium Burgi sive Villæ de Richmond pro educatione, institutione, et instructione, puerorum et juvenum in Grammaticâ perpetuis temporibus duratura*. The corporation charter was renewed by Charles II in 1668, when the mayor and aldermen became the successors of the burgesses as governors of the school.

The common seal is interesting in several points. It represents St. James, styled the Great and the Proto-Martyr of the apostles, with his usual emblems.<sup>1</sup> On each side are the royal arms of Elizabeth; the lion and fleur-de-lys are also scattered on the shield, and around, SIGILLVM. COMVNE. LIBERE.SCOLE.BVRGENSIVM.DE.RICHMOND. (See pl. 21, fig. 5.)

RIPON. The free grammar school of Ripon is a foundation and endowment of the year 1555, by Philip and Mary. Its common seal is simple, consisting only of a rose, around which is, SIGILLVM.PRO.SCHOLA.DE.RIPPON. (See pl. 22, fig. 4.)

SHEFFIELD. This free grammar school is of a foundation as late as 1603 or 1604, by Thomas Smith, of Crowland in the county of Lincoln, an attorney, but reported to have been born in Sheffield. Letters patent incorporated it in the reign of James I (1605), and it took the name of "The Free Grammar School of James King of England, within the Town of Sheffield, in the County of York." Mr. Hunter has not failed to remark how exactly the patent of the school is made conformable to the tenour of Smith's will, although his name is not even mentioned; "but the king takes to himself the credit of being the founder of the school, and imposes upon it his own royal name."<sup>2</sup> Governors were

<sup>1</sup> Remains of an ancient chapel dedicated to St. James are still to be seen at Richmond.

<sup>2</sup> Hunter's "Hallamshire," p. 173.



appointed, and a common seal granted. This seal is curious, consisting of an erect figure holding in his right hand an open book: he is encircled by arrows, those surrounding the upper half of his figure presenting the feathered ends of the arrows, whilst those of the lower consist of the barbed points. The old insignia of Sheffield were a youth and sheafs of arrows. Around the school seal is a passage from psalm CXIX, v. 105:  $\times$  VERBUM . TVVM . LVCERNAPE . DIBVS . MEIS, ignorantly arranged. (See plate 22, fig. 6.)

---

### ADDITION TO THE SEALS OF FREE GRAMMAR SCHOOLS.

HERTFORDSHIRE. ALDENHAM, near Watford, has a grammar school founded by Richard Platt, a citizen and brewer of London, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, a deed bearing the date of January 18th, 1599, being enrolled in the Court of Chancery, which recites the granting of letters patent by the queen, in 1596, licensing the erection of a grammar school at Aldenham, and incorporating the Brewers' Company as governors of the same, by the name of "The Gov<sup>rs</sup> of the Possess<sup>s</sup>, Goods, Chattels, and Rev<sup>s</sup> of the Free Grammar School and Almshouses of Rich<sup>d</sup> Platt in Aldenham." The schoolhouse appears to have been erected in 1597, as that date is affixed to the arms of the founder, carved in stone over the door of the school, with the following inscription: "This Free Grammar School was fd<sup>d</sup> and finished by R<sup>d</sup> Platt, citiz<sup>n</sup> and br<sup>r</sup> of London, A.D. 1597."

The school was connected with a charity for six almshouses endowed by the same benevolent individual. The seal (see pl. 22, fig. 2) is composed of the arms of Richard Platt,—*or*, fretty *sable* platée; crest, a demi lion rampant proper, holding in his paws a plate. Around we read,  $\times$  SIGILLVM . RICHARDI . PLATT.

The property bequeathed by Richard Platt for the support of these charities is situated in the parish of St. Pancras, in addition to lands possessed by him in Aldenham, together with a house in Great Knight Rider-street. The Brewers' Company are the trustees. The children of the parish of Aldenham, and of the freemen of the company of Brewers, are entitled to admission into the school; but should the



stated number of sixty be by this limitation rendered incomplete, children from the neighbouring parishes are admissible.

## WALES.

In NORTH WALES the free grammar school of RUTHIN has a common seal of much interest. Ruthin is situated in the county of Denbigh; and the school was founded, in 1595, by the rev. Dr. Gabriel Goodman, dean of Westminster for upwards of forty years, son of Edward Goodman, a burgess and mercer of Ruthin. This benevolent man had, in 1590, refounded the church of Ruthin, having purchased the tithes of this parish, and also of Llan Rhydd, from the lay hands into which they had passed upon the dissolution of the collegiate church. With the proceeds, dean Goodman founded in Ruthin Christ's Hospital, which was afterwards incorporated, and had a common seal. (See plate 22, fig. 7.) To this hospital a free grammar school was attached, and a schoolroom built by the founder. The statutes were drawn up in the Latin language, and are of similar purport to those of Westminster school, with which the dean may readily be supposed to be intimately acquainted.

The seal is large, representing a full figure of the Saviour at his resurrection from the tomb, with soldiers on each side. The passage, *Ego sum resurrectio et vita* (John c. xi, v. 25) is arranged on a scroll, and the banner of the cross is in the left hand of Christ, whilst with the right he appears to be giving the benediction. The legend around reads, SIGILLVM HOSPITALIS CHRISTI IN RUTHIN, 1590. (Elizabeth 32.)

NEWBURGH, or Newborough, forms one of the hundreds of the county of Anglesea, about three miles from the sea shore. It is now an insignificant place, the mention of which is almost blotted out of our gazetteers; yet in former times it was of considerable importance. Its British name is *Rhos-vair*; and a royal palace, or *Ulys*, was here inhabited by North Wallian princes. Edward I annexed it to the royalties of the prince of Wales, made it a town, and constituted a corporation,—hence its name Newborough. The parliament of Edward III confirmed its privileges; and it sent a member to parliament as late as the 1st of Edward VI, when the franchise was transferred to Beaumaris. There was also an

abbey, or a cell attached to one, belonging to the Benedictine order: and here was extensively practised the divination by fishes, *ἰχθυόμαντεια*. Of the establishment of a free school at this place, I can give no particulars; but the seal of NOVA BURGA presents three fishes as the arms. (See pl. 22, fig. 3.)

In SOUTH WALES the free grammar school of SWANSEA has a common seal,—which is, indeed, the seal of the corporation, as expressed around a portcullis. (See plate 22, fig. 5.) It was founded by Hugh Gower, lord bishop of Waterford and Lismore, in Ireland, in 1682, and by him well endowed. Twelve burgesses of the corporation form the body of governors of this school.

## ON FURTHER DISCOVERIES OF CELTIC AND ROMAN REMAINS IN THE THAMES, OFF BATTERSEA.

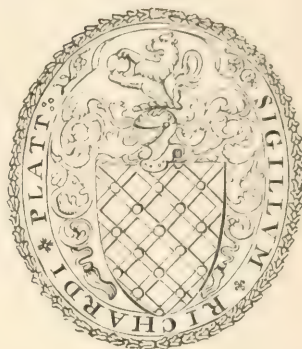
BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., HON. SEC.

THE asserted discovery of Celtic and Roman *reliquiæ* in the Thames, off Battersea, detailed in the last volume of our *Journal* (xiii, 237), has received further confirmation; and it is with pleasure that I lay before the Association a few specimens dredged up from the bed of the river, near to the new bridge. When I addressed you on this subject, some months since, we had nothing to adduce in support of the statement that iron arms had been found mingled with those of bronze. We have now, however, a spear-head in confirmation of that statement; and our associate, Mr. T. Bateman, has a like specimen in his collection. The one before us (pl. 23, fig. 1) undoubtedly the head of a Roman *hasta*, the cuspis being lozenge-shaped, and the socket solid throughout its circumference, differing in this respect from the sockets of Anglo-Saxon spear-heads, which are open up the side. This specimen is in tolerably perfect condition, and measures five inches and one-eighth in length, the socket being a full inch in diameter at the base. Mr. Bateman informs me that his example is quite perfect.

We have also the iron head of another dart or javelin, of



1



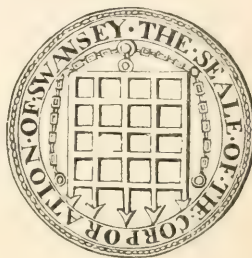
2



3



4



5



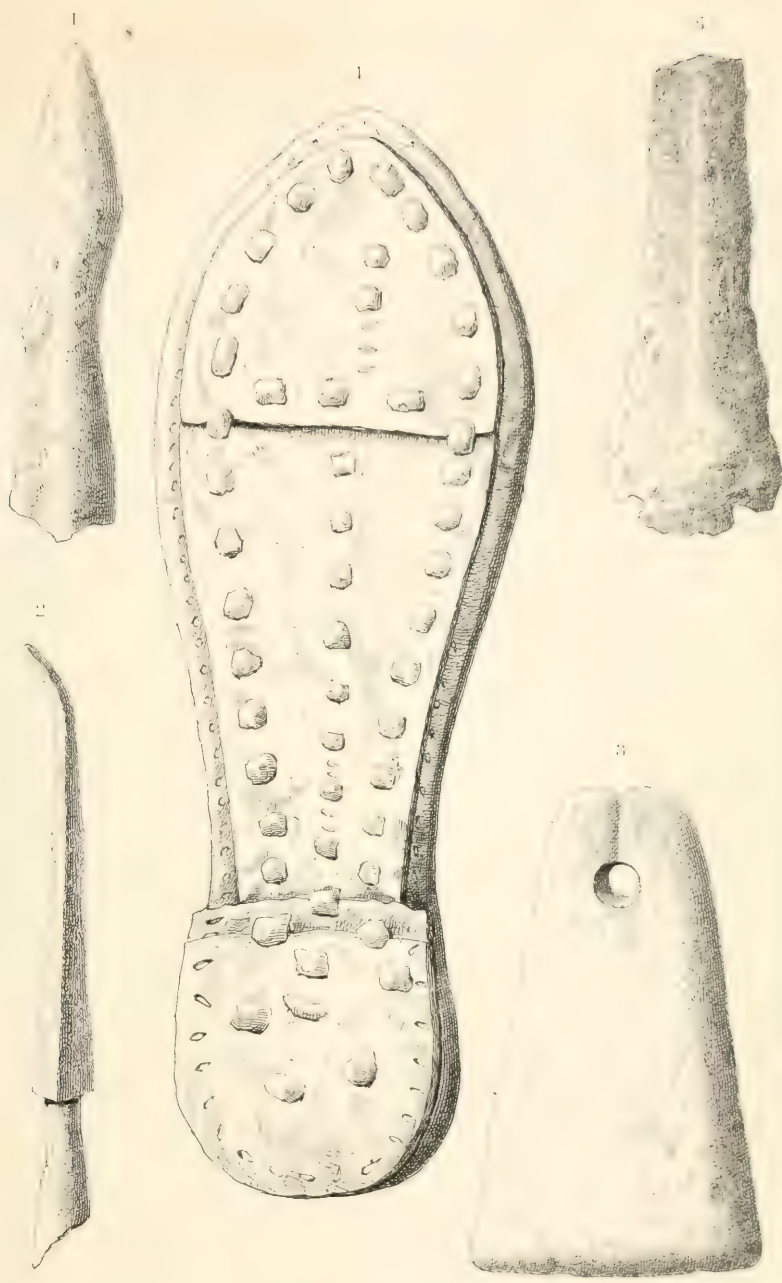
6



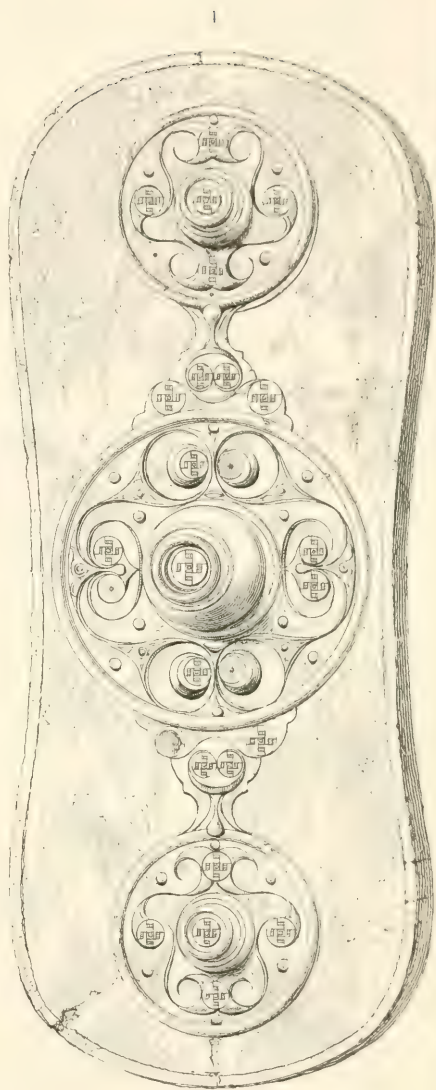
7















a very different form to the first (see pl. 23, fig. 2). The blade is triangular, nearly five inches in length, and five-eighths across its base. The point is bent from having struck against some hard body; and the lower part of the socket is broken away, leaving but about an inch and three-quarters attached to the blade,—enough, however, to indicate that the shaft must have been about the thickness of a finger. This singular specimen may be the head of a *hasta velitaris*, employed by the light-armed troops of Rome: the blade of which is described as being but a span in length, and at times so finely acumined that it rebated, and became useless, upon coming into contact with anything offering much resistance. Several triangular blades, of somewhat smaller size, were found in the *castrum* on Hod Hill, Dorset; and in the *Archæologia* (xxxvi, 81) is a similar weapon, discovered with Roman remains at Rheims, which has been regarded as a *pilum*.

Of a far more novel character is a third specimen from this locality, and is as surely of British as the iron *hastæ* are of Roman origin. (See pl. 23, fig. 3.) It is wrought of a piece of primitive limestone, of a greyish-brown colour, weighing 14 oz., 5 dwts., 10 grs., is of a somewhat triangular figure, nearly five inches and a quarter in length, upwards of three inches in breadth at the base, and a full inch in thickness, the two surfaces being parallel, and the edges blunt throughout. About three-quarters of an inch below the apex is drilled a round hole, seven-sixteenths of an inch diameter; and rising from it on one face, and crossing the apex of the stone, is a rather shallow groove, to receive the side of a thong or cord by which the object was suspended. The surface of the stone is eroded from long immersion in the water, but its outline remains intact. I am not aware that anything precisely like this specimen has been noticed before in England; but flat, perforated stones, somewhat similar to it, occur in Ireland, where they are believed to have formed portions of offensive weapons; the notion being that they were suspended from stout staves by thongs, and used like the military flails and “morning stars” of the middle ages. Weapons of an allied character are employed by the Circassians, and may be described as stout whips with heavy weights secured to the ends of the thongs. The Circassian weights are somewhat heart-shaped, and sewed

up in leather, the thong passing through the narrow end, as in the example from Battersea.<sup>1</sup>

Hitherto the reports regarding Battersea point only to the discovery of arms and death relics; but the sameness is now broken by the production of an article of costume, namely, the sole of a Roman *caliga*, the shoe appropriated to the rank and file soldiers, including the centurions, but none of the superior officers. The specimen alluded to is now before you. (See pl. 23, fig. 4.) It is eleven inches and a half long, nearly four inches across the broadest part, towards the toe, and three inches at the heel. It consists of a thick piece of leather, with a much thinner one beneath, and an additional piece at the toe, and two stout pieces to form a low heel; the whole being sewed, or rather laced together, by a broad thong, which follows the outline of the sole, extends from toe to heel down the centre, and crosses it towards the front. Close to the edge are seventy-six perforations, the holes left by the *claves*, or nails, which secured the lining and upper leather to the sole, and whose prominent heads served to give to the wearer a firmer footing on the ground. This specimen, so far as it goes, is in a high state of preservation; and, reckoning according to the received canon of proportion, must have belonged to a soldier of about five feet nine inches in height. Soles similar to this have been found with Roman remains in the City; and some examples obtained from the great pit at the Royal Exchange were of the same dimensions.<sup>2</sup>

Since writing the foregoing remarks, I have been favoured with the following valuable communication from our zealous member, Mr. T. Bateman of Youghgrave. He says: "As you have formerly recorded some discoveries of bronze weapons in the Thames, supposed to have been dredged up near Battersea, it may interest you to know that I have lately purchased the following articles from the same locality:

"1. A bronze sword, or *claddiv*, of the 'leaf-shaped' form peculiar to this country, twenty-five inches long.<sup>3</sup> (See Plate 24, fig. 1.)

<sup>1</sup> I find, by newspaper report, that at the Godstone Educational Museum there was exhibited, in January 1858, by Mr. T. Hart, an "ancient perforated stone, supposed to have been used as a missile, by means of a thong passed through it," found in Surrey. It was from the collection of the late Mr. Glover.

<sup>2</sup> Good examples of Roman *caligæ* are given in the *Journal* (v, 334) from originals discovered at Bowness Flow, Westmoreland.

<sup>3</sup> The broad, flat tang of this sword has an aperture down its centre, in a

"2. Another *cleddy* of an unusually large size, measuring twenty-six inches, though two inches must have been broken off the haft. The width is two inches across the broadest part of the blade.

"3. A bronze dagger, eight inches long, with two large rivets remaining, by which the handle was attached. (Plate 24, fig. 2.)

"4. A bronze spear, fourteen inches and a half long, two inches and a quarter broad at the widest part, with two loops attached to the bottom of the blade in a peculiar manner,—not as usual, at some distance down the socket,—and having the socket filled with the decayed remains of the shaft, which appears to have been of ash. (Pl. 24, fig. 3.)

"5. A human skull, apparently of a young adult male, of the brachy-cephalic type, with prominent parietal tubers. It unfortunately wants the lower jaw, but is otherwise in fine preservation, and has acquired an ebonized appearance from its long-continued submergence in the river. The measurements are:

			Inches.	10ths.
Horizontal circumference	.	.	20	4
Frontal region, length	.	.	5	4
„ „ breadth	.	.	4	11
Parietal region, length	.	.	4	5
„ „ breadth	.	.	6	0
Occipital region, length	.	.	4	3
„ „ breadth	.	.	5	5
Mastoid arch, length	.	.	15	5
Longitudinal diameter	.	.	6	8
Breadth of face	.	.	5	5

"With these objects was found a circular piece of very thin hammered bronze, about seventeen inches diameter, of concave shape, with a great number of small round-headed rivets round the edge, by which it had been secured to other sheets of metal of like tenuity; the surface being quite plain, except in one place, where a fault had been repaired by a small plate fastened by rivets like those already named. It had evidently been the bottom of a caldron, like the specimen figured at page 274 of Wilson's *Pre-Historic Annals of Scotland*; where another example is stated to have been found, with bronze weapons, near Edinburgh. Another, of

similar way to examples described in my paper on Celtic remains, to be printed in a future *Journal*.—H. S. C.

similar fabric, is engraved in Mr. Shirley's *History of Farnley, in Ulster*. The owner of the Thames specimen, presuming it to be a Celtic shield, attaches an undue value to it; for which reason I did not purchase it with the other things, the whole of which are in the most perfect preservation."

Though this brazen fragment is nothing more than a portion of a *pair*, or caldron, the locality has produced a veritable Celtic shield,—and that, too, of a form and character almost unique. (See pl. 24, fig. 4.) It is the metal covering of a *ysgwyd*, which may vie, for beauty and finish, with the one from Witham preserved in the Meyrick collection. The latter, however, is set with carnelian, and has straight sides, whilst the outline of the Thames shield is near akin to the *ancile* seen on early gems. It is about two feet six inches and a half in length; and amongst the tasteful forms which decorate its embossed field, appear convex discs of red enamel, charged with the so-called *fylfot*. This precious example of Celtic art is now deposited in the British Museum.

The several relics here described are valuable not only as well marked types of ancient objects, but as affording fresh and indubitable evidence in support of former statements and discoveries. At one time we heard but a faint whisper that human remains and implements of war-craft had been obtained somewhere from the Thames, but the precise site was an enigma. The reports multiplied, they were analyzed, the dislocated facts joined together, and the little rills of information tracked to their fountain-head. The crania of Celt and Roman were not only delineated, but produced; the brazen lance (see pl. 23, fig. 5) and brazen sword (pl. 24, fig. 5) were laid before you; the iron *hastæ* are shown to be something more than a breath; and though the tides of eighteen centuries have swept the warrior's footprint from the shore, the covering of that foot has again been gathered from the deep: so that if we have not yet "confirmations strong as proofs of holy writ", of a sanguinary conflict having taken place between the Celtæ and the Romans, near where the new bridge spans the Thames at Battersea, we have at least sufficient to transmute that which at first loomed as an ill-defined shadow, into a visible and tangible reality.

---



## ON THE REPUTED VISION OF HENRY I.

BY T. J. PETTIGREW, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P. AND TREASURER.

ALL readers of English history are familiar with the legend related of Henry I,—a legend which, whatever may be the degree of truth attached to the narrative, serves to illustrate the feeling entertained in regard to the tyranny of his rule, and the natural and consequent enmity entertained towards him by his subjects.

In the collection known as *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores Decem*, edited by Roger Twysden (in two vols., folio, London, 1652), it is related that, in the year 1130, Henry I passing over to Normandy, was visited one night with an extraordinary dream or vision. First, there gathered around him a multitude of countrymen bearing scythes, spades, and pitchforks, and with anger and threatening in their countenances. These passed away, and their place was filled by a crowd of armed soldiers with drawn swords. The scene changed again, and croziered bishops succeeded, who seemed to be leaning over his bed, ready to fall upon him, as if they meant to kill him with their holy staves. In these several appearances, the tillers of the ground, the military, and the church, the three most important interests of the kingdom are inferred to have each sent its representatives to reproach and curse and menace the sovereign.

In Capgrave's *Chronicle of England* (dedicated to Edward IV, and extending from the beginning of the world to A.D. 1417), lately edited by the rev. F. C. Hingeston, under the authority of the lords commissioners of her majesty's treasury, under the direction of the master of the rolls, the visions of Henry I are thus referred to:

"A.D. 1126. Sone aftir appered onto this kyng mervelous visiones. First, he sey in his slep a gret multitude of plowmen, with swech instrumentis as thei use, com ageyn him as *ȝouȝ* they wolde kille him. Than sey he a multitude of armed men, with speres and dartis ageyn him. In the third vision cam prelatis, with here crosses and croses,<sup>1</sup> sore<sup>2</sup> thret-

<sup>1</sup> Croyses, C. C. C.<sup>2</sup> For, C. C. C.

yng him. The kyng wook, ros, and took his swerd in his hand, wenyng<sup>1</sup> al had be soth. This same vision was schewid to a lech. They clepid him Grimbold; and he warned the king, as Daniel ded Nabugodonosor, to redeme his sinnes with elmesse.<sup>2</sup>

“Sone aftir this he went into Normandy, for to wite<sup>3</sup> of his doutir were with child. And as he cam fro hunting, he desired gretly to ete a lamprey; for that mete loved he wel, and evir it ded him harme. This mete caused him a fevyr, of wheech he deied. He regned xxxv yere.” (p. 164.)

Mr. Walter Hawkins, F.S.A., lays before us a very interesting representation of the second of these visions, that of the military caste. It is on a panel of oak, four inches and a quarter long, two inches and three-quarters high, and a quarter of an inch thick; and is a fac-simile of an illumination in a MS. of Florence of Worcester, written *circa* A.D. 1150, and preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. The three visions reported to have been seen by Henry I whilst in Normandy, are detailed in this MS., and an abridged account of them is to be found in Trevisa's version of Higden's *Polychronicon*, published by Caxton in 1482, in the following terms:

“Mold, the emperyce, was soone forsake of her husband Geffroy, and wente to her fader into Normandy. There the king sawe thre wondre syghtes. Fyrste, he saw in his sleepe many clerkes assaile him with toles,<sup>4</sup> and axe of him dette. Efte he sawe a route of men of armes that wold rise on hym with all manner wepen. The thyrde tyme he sawe a grete company of prelates menace him with theyr croyses. And at every time the king start up of his bed, and caught his swerde and cryed help, as though he wold slee some men; but he might no man finde.”

The design on Mr. Hawkins' panel is engraved in outline on the oak, the incised lines filled up with threads of brass. We here see the king reposing at full length on a couch, with his hands thrust beneath the bed coverings, and wearing a somewhat mitre-shaped crown with a ball on each point. On his right side stands a group of four warriors habited in hauberk, and having conic helmets with nasal bars. Two of the warriors are armed with broadswords, and have long shields with projecting bosses; a third grasps a

<sup>1</sup> Supposing.

<sup>2</sup> Alms.

<sup>3</sup> Wete, C. C. C., ascertain.

<sup>4</sup> Weapons.







spear with lozenge-shaped blade. This "route of men" seem to be addressing the sleeping monarch, who manifests none of that agitation described by the old chronicler. The costume of the warriors closely resembles that of the three soldiers on a bronze panel discovered in the Temple church, and engraved in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.<sup>1</sup> Both panels are unquestionably of the same age, namely, the twelfth century, and probably formed sides of small shrines or fetters.

In the *Pictorial History of England*,<sup>2</sup> Mr. Knight has given, from drawings, a plate representing the three visions, though the MS. whence they were derived (which I believe to be that in Corpus Christi college) is not mentioned. Plate 25 exhibits a complete illustration of the king's vision. The compartments represented in figs. 1 and 3 are derived from the MS. alluded to; fig. 2 has been drawn from Mr. Hawkins's *Plaque*. The variations in the ornamentation between that which is given in the MS. illustration, compared with Mr. Hawkins' example, are slight, yet deserve notice. In the frontlet of the crown, in the latter (fig. 2), there are six pellets, arranged in two rows of equal size; whilst in the MS. these are not placed in any regular order, and are also of unequal magnitudes. The head of the bedstead, on Mr. Hawkins' specimen, has a lozenge-shaped ornament; on the MS. it consists of three double perpendicular lines arched at the top. In other respects, and in the arrangement of the figures and the accompanying weapons and armour, the correspondence between the two illustrations is perfect.

The dream, we are told, made a great impression upon the king. He is said to have awoke in extreme perturbation; he leaped out of his bed, seized his sword, and called out violently for his attendants. It is further added, that when he became more calm he solemnly resolved upon repentance and amendment of life, and that from that time he became an altered man. I append extracts from the *Decem Scriptores*, that the original may be before the reader:

"A° Dni. 1130. Henricus I. Nam primo vidit in sompniis rusticorum multitudinem cum instrumentis in ipsum insilire, et debitum expetere. Secundo vidit armatorum cohortem omnimodis telis in ipsum sævite velle. Tercio vidit prælatorum catervam cum baculis pastoralibus minas fortiter

<sup>1</sup> October 1833, p. 305.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i. p. 665.

intentare. Et omnibus hiis vicibus rex de stratu suo exiliit, opem inclamitans et gladium arripiens, ac si esset aliquos occisurus, sed neminem invenit. Ista etiam omnia vidit quidam medicus nomine *Grimbaldus*, qui mane ista regi referens monuit eum sicut quondam *Daniel Nabugodonosor*, ut elemosinis peccata sua redimeret.”—*Hist. Anglic. Scriptores* X. Lond., 1652; p. 1018.

“Mortuo comite *Flandrensi Henricus* rex *Angliæ* de bene placito regis *Franciæ* successit jure consanguinitatis; et cito post Matilda imperatrix repudiata à viro suo *Galfrido*, accessit ad patrem suum in *Normannia* existentem: ubi tres mirabiles apparuerunt ei visiones. Nam primo vidit in sompnis rusticorum multitudinem cum instrumentem insilire et debitum expetere. Secundo, vidit armatorum cohortem omnimodis telis in eum sævire velle. Tercio, vidit prælatorum catervam cum baculis pastoralibus minas intentare. Et omnibus his vicibus exiliit rex de stratu suo gladium arripiens, et opem inclamitans ac si esset aliquos occisurus, set neminem invenit. Ista etiam omnia vidit quidam medicus, *Grunbaldus* nomine. Qui mane ista regi referens, monuit eum sicut quondam *Daniel Nabugodonosor*, et elemosinis sua peccata redimeret. Unde et rex in redeundo *Angliam*, nimia tempestate quassatus est, voritque ut septem annis *Danicum* tributum relaxaret, ut sanctum *Edmundum* visitaret, ut justiciam faceret.”—*Ib.*, p. 2383.

## Proceedings of the Association.

(Continued from p. 292.)

---

APRIL 28.

T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THANKS were voted for the following presents :

*To the Royal Society.* For their Proceedings. No. 30. 8vo.

*To the Society.* Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society, for 1856-7. 8vo.

*To the Publisher.* Gentleman's Magazine for April. 8vo.

„ „ Civil Engineer's Journal for ditto. 4to.

*To the Canadian Institute.* The Canadian Journal for March. 8vo.

*To Harry Lupton, esq.* Genealogical and Heraldic Visitation for Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire. MS. Folio.

Mr. Gunston exhibited a spike-shaped implement, wrought of a piece of dark chocolate-coloured slate, two inches and five-eighths long, and seven-sixteenths wide near the centre. It is three-faced, and pointed at each end,—the one being round, the other triangular. It was found in the county Galway, and may have been employed as a tool for forming the decorations upon ancient pottery.

Mr. C. A. Elliott exhibited a curious oval intaglio of red carnelian, set in an elegantly chased gold ring. The subject on the gem is a circus, with the *meta*, or turning-post, consisting of three conic columns, which partially conceal a *quadriga*. Three other *quadrigæ*, with their naked occupants, are, however, in full view, and actively engaged in the race. Across the field are the letters LICEI, the meaning of which is far from clear. The inscription can hardly refer, in any way, to the *Lyceum* at Athens, chariot contests forming no part of the education imparted to youth in that gymnasium. Among Lord Carlisle's gems there was one of a *quadriga* by AVLII; and Tassie enumerates another with a *biga*, by LVCII. The *Licei* on Mr. Elliott's circus may therefore be the name of the sculptor. The finest and most valuable representation of a circus

occurs on the magnificent intaglio of rock crystal in the cabinet of the king of Naples, which is an oval, three inches and five-twelfths long, by four inches and three-twelfths high. Chariot races in the circus are also seen on the reverses of the medals of Nero, Trajan, and some other Roman emperors; and likewise on the sides of the coral-red *ficilia* known as Samian ware, and on a few vessels of glass—as, for instance, that discovered at Hartlip, in Kent (engraved in the *Journal*, v, 371), and the one found in London, and now in the British Museum.

Mr. P. B. Sheppard, of Hampton Manor, near Bath, communicated an account of a discovery of an ancient interment, made on the 3rd of July 1857, in the parish of Bathwick. Whilst some men were at work in a gravel pit, and about three or four feet below the surface, they came upon a human skeleton crossed by three iron bands with rough hinge-joints, and accompanied by long nails; clearly indicating that the body was originally enclosed in a wooden *loculus*, or coffin,—every trace of which had, however, perished. At the head and feet of the skeleton lay a *guttus* of red terra-cotta, partially covered with a buff colour, one of which was broken by the men in the hope of meeting with coin or other treasure; the other Mr. Sheppard succeeded in saving, and transmitted a drawing of it to the council. It measures six inches and three-quarters in height, weighs scarcely ten ounces, and in form and size may be compared with the *guttus* engraved in the *Journal* (v, 339, fig. 2.)

Mr. Leuchars exhibited a number of Scottish coins of the fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth century, minted at Edinburgh, and consisting of the following reigns and denominations:—James II (1437-60), groat and half-groat; James III (1460-88), half-groat and penny, and eight billon pieces called black farthings; James IV (1488-1513), groat; James V (1513-42), four groats. The same gentleman also exhibited a Calais groat of Henry V; and a groat and half-groat of Edward IV, minted at London,—both of which are much worn.

Mr. G. Wright produced some good examples of maundy money of the following reigns, viz., Charles II, James II, William and Mary, Anne, George II, and George III; also a quarter-guinea of George I (1718), a piece of some rarity when in fine condition.

Mr. John Turner made the following communication regarding some coins, etc., discovered in Southwark:—“In excavating the ground in King’s-place, in the Borough, for the basements of some houses I am there erecting, amongst the rubbish which at some time had evidently been filled in to old foundations of no interest or antiquity, were found the coins I have enclosed, viz.,—a second brass of Hadrian, *rev.*, ‘Salus Augusta’; a third brass of Valens, *rev.*, ‘Securitas Reipublicæ’; trader’s token, *obv.*, THE CROWNE IN TVTTLE,—in the field, a crown, *rev.*, STREETE WESTMIN. 1651, <sup>F</sup><sub>RA</sub> in the field; farthing of Charles II; gun-money crown of James II, Sept. 1689; and a sol of Louis XVI, 1784.

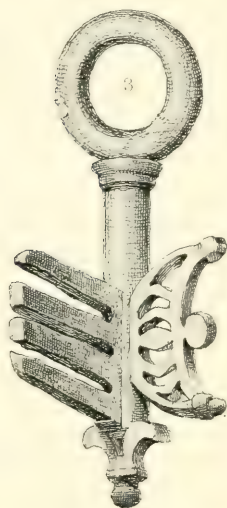




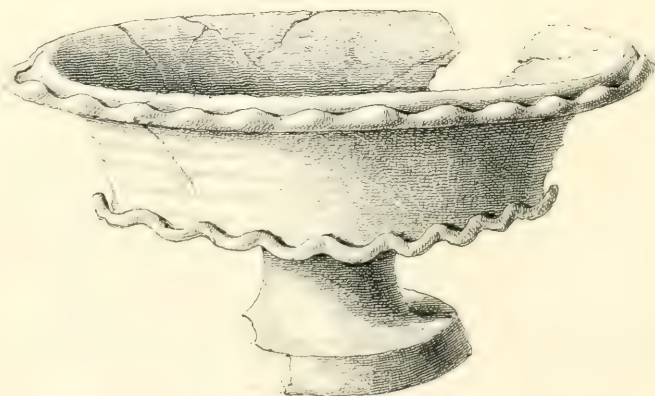
ROMAN ANTIQUITIES.



2



3



1

There were also found several copper coins of George II and III, which I have not sent; but at the bottom of an old well or cesspool, the bellarmine, or long-beard, which I also forward, was found. It is of rude workmanship, of the time of James I."

Mr. James Clarke, of Easton, exhibited impressions of three curious seals. The first, of which the original bronze matrix is in the possession of Mr. H. Sparks of Woodbridge, bears a male figure standing between a palm tree and orb, and surrounded by an inscription of about twelve letters, so ill formed that it is difficult to tell what they mean. The matrix is of rude and evidently early fabric, its date being probably not later than the eleventh century. The second impression is from a bronze signet-ring of about the time of James I. It bears a large W, with some leaf-shaped ornaments. It was lately found in a field at Wickham Market, and is in the possession of Mr. Clarke. The third has been referred for more particular description, and will be arranged and figured with others of a similar character.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming made the following communication :

"ON A ROMAN FLOWER VASE FOUND IN SOUTHWARK.

"So many examples of Roman *ficilia* have been exhibited to the Association, that any novelty of type must now be regarded with special interest. To the rich store of ancient vessels which already grace our volumes, we are, by the kindness of Mr. G. R. Corner, F.S.A., enabled to add another specimen of a totally different contour, and in all probability designed for a totally different purpose from any hitherto produced. This vase (see plate 26, fig. 1) was discovered in Southwark, with other Roman *ficilia*, in constructing the southern approaches to the new London bridge: at which time vast quantities of Roman remains were brought to light,—all of which seem to be now well-nigh lost and forgotten. The vase may be described as a sort of shallow bowl, supported on a low stem with flat circular foot hollow within. The broad rim, and fillet round the lower part, are undulated like the fillet surrounding the neck of an *ampulla* found at Old Ford, Middlesex, in 1848, engraved in the *Journal* (iv, 393). The dimensions of the vase are as follow: height, three inches and three-quarters; diameter at mouth, seven inches; diameter of foot, three inches; depth of bowl in centre, two inches and a quarter. Its material is a strong and rather compact clay, of a light red hue, evidently obtained from the same locality which furnished the substance of many of the bricks, flue-tiles, and vessels, found within the limits of Roman London; and which were, in all probability, manufactured in its immediate neighbourhood.

"Vases of this form are seldom met with in a perfect condition,—indeed, their very fragments are of rare occurrence. In the Museum of Practical Geology is a considerable portion of one, of a light brown colour,

exhumed in St. Martin's-le-Grand, October 1845.<sup>1</sup> In the British Museum are portions of seven specimens found in London, the largest and most perfect being of an ash colour, and measuring five inches in height.<sup>2</sup> A perfect vase, of the same colour, but of smaller dimensions, was found in New Cannon-street, March 1854; and remains of similar vases are in the collections of our respected members, Mr. Charles Ainslie and Mr. Lynch. The latter gentleman places before us two examples,—the first nearly half of an ash-coloured bowl, of the same size as Mr. Corner's specimen; the second, a fragment of a small bowl of bright red earth, covered inside and out with a yellow coat, the fillet round the lower part resembling the quilling so frequently seen on the edges of Roman cups of glass.

“The modern form of these singular vases has induced some to think them of recent manufacture; but the fact of their discovery with undoubted Roman remains, their material, degree of baking, and style of ornamentation, being identical with Roman vessels, all combine to establish their claim to Roman origin, and give a decisive answer to any doubt or cavil that can be raised against their antiquity.

“The majority of Roman *ficilia* exhumed in London have clearly been applied to mortuary and domestic purposes; but these rare vessels were in all likelihood wrought more for ornament than use, and served as vases in which plants were set; as part of the *horti imaginarii* which Pliny (xix, 4) and Martial (xi, 19) speak of decorating the *fenestra*, or windows, of the Roman citizens, as a substitute for the pleasure-grounds which surrounded the country villa.”

#### MAY 12.

NATHANIEL GOULD, F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following associates were elected :

Gordon, M. Hills, esq., 12, John-street, Adelphi.

Ambrose Boyson, esq., 28, Newington-place.

R. Horman-Fisher, jun., esq., 16, James-street, Buckingham Gate.

J. Sheppard Scott, esq., 46, Kensington Park Gardens.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :

*To the Literary Fund.* Summary of Facts drawn from the Records of the Society, etc. 8vo. 1858.

*To the Publisher.* Gentleman's Magazine for May. 8vo.

<sup>1</sup> Engraved in the Museum catalogue, p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> This is given in Mr. Roach Smith's *Catalogue*, p. 17, where comparison is made with one in the *Publications de la Société pour la recherche et la conservation des Monuments Historiques dans la Grand-Duché de Luxembourg, année 1851*, pl. vi, fig. 3.



Mr. Wills called attention to a small bronze eagle, stated to have been found in the Thames, off Queenhithe. It represents the bird with raised but not expanded wings, and standing on a plinth, which was probably mortised into a socket. It is of rather rude workmanship, and in style of fabric resembles the productions of the early Etruscan artists rather than those of Rome.

Mr. Gunston exhibited a medalet of brass, bearing on the obverse the full mitred bust of "Sanctus Claudius"; and on the reverse a celestial choir. St. Claude was born at Salins, in Burgundy, chosen bishop and then archbishop of Besançon. After holding his pastoral charge for many years, he retired to a monastery, where he died in 696. His festival is on the 6th of June.

Mr. Elliott exhibited a gold ring set with a small oblong ovate intaglio of striped carnelian, of early Roman work. It represents the imperial eagle, with a *tropæum* on either side. This gem was probably wrought in commemoration of some conquest, and used by the victor as his *signum*.

Mrs. Fitch sent for inspection an impression of a Roman intaglio in her possession, which was found at Felixstowe, in Suffolk. The gem is of an ovate form, of a brownish-red colour, less transparent than common carnelian, but seemingly a variety of that stone. The device is a standing satyr wearing a *petasus*, and holding a poppy-head and wheat-car in the right hand, and the *pedum*, or shepherd's crook, in the left, with the panther's skin thrown round the arm. This specimen is of better execution than most of the Roman intaglios discovered in England, and forms an interesting addition to those already described in this *Journal*.

Dr. Lee, V.P., laid before the Association a manuscript "List of such Doctors as are known to have been Advocates in the Court of Arches, taken from the Treasurer's Book; to which is prefixed a Letter of Sir Robert Wyseman's relating to Lambeth Doctors."

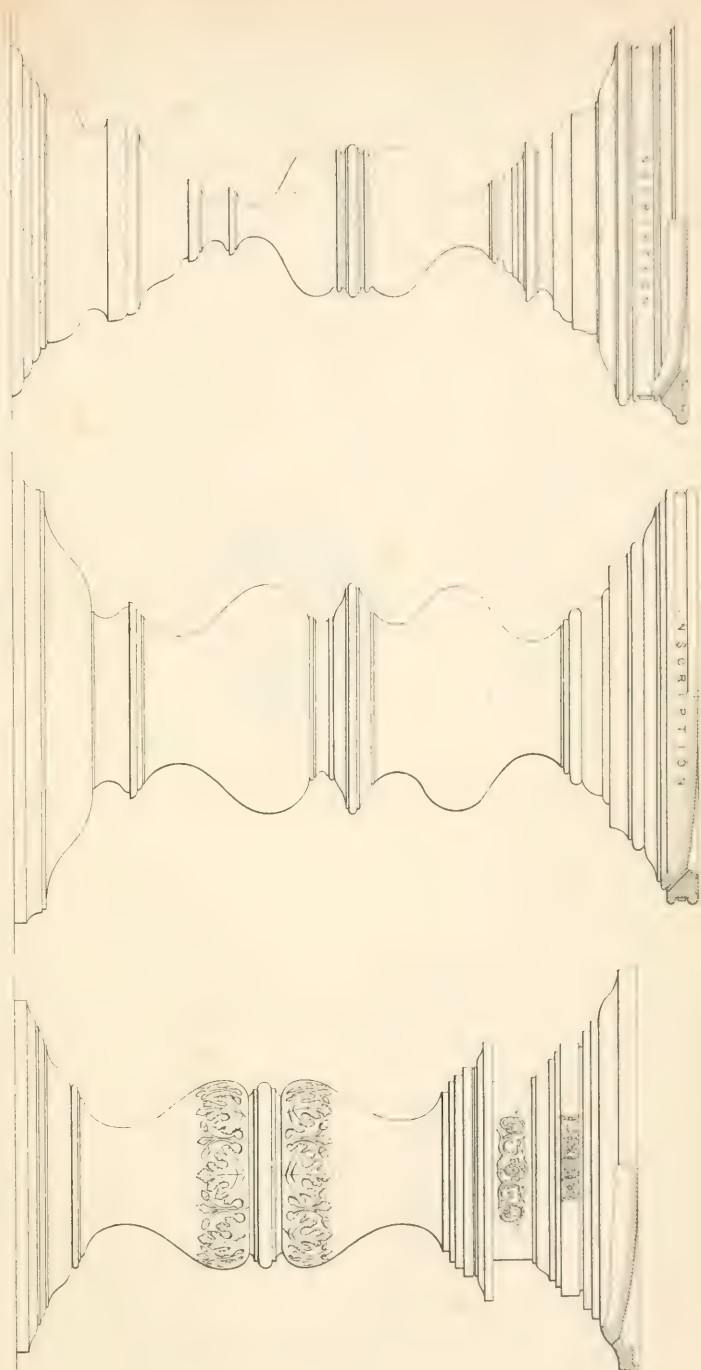
The letter is addressed to the archbishop Sancroft, and bears the date of January 28, 1678, and intimates the resistance offered by the advocates to the admission of Dr. John St. John, created by his grace, and holding the archbishop's *fiat* for admittance. The two senior advocates, however, refused to present him, and requested sir R. Wyseman to intercede with his grace on the matter. They allege that they "are all universitie men of this kingdom, gonn through the charge, paine, and industrie in the profession; and troubled they are that anie that have not donn nor qualified alike should have the same benefitt and priviledge. They say it was never knowne, nor no instance can be given, that ever any one was admitted. They say, that if your grace persists in this your pleasure, they can never be secure but the same thing may be putt upon them hereafter, which will tend much to their discouragement and prejudice." They therefore beseech the archbishop "to tender their constant usages and customes and priviledges of their societie."

The remonstrance appears to have had no effect; for Dr. John St. John was admitted among the advocates, February 4, 1680, according to the *Assignment Book* of the Court of Arches. He was not, however, presented by the two seniors, as customary; nor was he received into Commons, as his name is not entered in the treasurer's book. The advocates, according to the testimony of sir Nathaniel Lloyd, unanimously declined to practise with him in any cause; neither did any of the judges appoint him their surrogate; nor did the proctors employ him in any case, though he resided among them for upwards of two years. He offers the only instance of a doctor being admitted a member of the society without having previously taken his doctor's degree at one of the two universities.

A similar proceeding was proposed in regard to the hon. James Erskine, son of the earl of Marr, in archbishop Potter's time; but Mr. Erskine took no definitive steps in the matter, finding the dislike of the advocates at this time as great as in the days of archbishop Sancroft. Mr. Erskine died in 1754, at the age of seventy-four. The list, *Quo Ordine Doctores admittuntur in Archibus*, commences in 1511, and is continued down to 1750, there being three hundred and seventy-four names in the list.

Mr. Samuel Lepard laid before the meeting some interesting drawings of brazen columns standing in front of the Exchange at Bristol, and upon the tops of which persons were wont to lay their hands in token of the conclusion of a bargain,—a practice apparently derived from the ancient custom of touching the altar to render an oath inviolable, as was done by Harold when he swore fealty to duke William. The Bristol columns are four in number, and range from about three feet two inches to three feet eight inches in height. Their general form brings to mind the balusters of old London bridge, which are now frequently made to do duty as the supports of sun-dials. Three of the columns bear inscriptions setting forth the name of the person by whose munificence they were erected. On No. 1, or that next the post-office, we read on the top,—“This is the guift of Mr. George White of Bristoll, merchaunt, brother unto doctor Thomas White, a famous benefactor to this citie, A.D. 1631.” On a ring, a little below the top,—“The church of the living God is the pillar and ground of the trueth. So was the worke of the pillars finished.” The inscription on the top of No. 2 is obliterated; but the legend on the ring tells us,—“Thomas Hobson of Bristol made me. Nicholas Crisp of London gave me to the honourable city, in remembrance of Gods mercy in anno Domini 1625.” The inscription on the top of No. 3 states,—“This post is the gift of Master Robert Kitchin, merchant, sometime mayor and alderman of this city, who dec. 1 Septemb. 1594.” On the ring,—“His executors were fower of his servants: John Barker, Mathew Haviland; Abell Kitchin, alderman of this city; and John Rowborow, sherif. 1630.” The fourth column is uninscribed, but is enriched

BRASS TABLES AT EXCHANGE, BRISTOL.



Scale 1 inch to the Foot.





in some parts with designs which seem to fix its date to the reign of Elizabeth or James I. One of the mouldings of the capital exhibits a band of circlets, with birds and six-rayed stars alternating; another band consists of scrolls terminating with acorns and dragons' heads with forked tongues, the swelling portions of the shaft being decorated with acanthus leaves and acorns. It seems an extraordinary fact that these columns, and the custom connected with them, should have been passed over by most writers upon Bristol; and it would be of interest to ascertain if anything like them, or the curious practice alluded to, exists in any other part of the country. As the Bristol columns appear to have been treated with unmerited neglect by the historians and topographers of the counties of Gloucester and Somerset, the council of the Association has deemed them worthy of a representation, as seen in plate 27.

Mr. John Adey Repton, F.S.A., communicated to the treasurer a few remarks on the strawberry-leaf as employed in architectural ornamentation, and accompanied his observations by some sketches, which were referred to be arranged, with other similar drawings, for future use. Mr. Repton observed that this beautiful ornament, as employed in our Gothic buildings, is to be seen in cornices, bosses, string-courses, ceilings, etc. He has not been able to trace its introduction earlier than the reign of Edward III; and Mr. Pugin has given beautiful examples of it in his works, but none of a prior date. Mr. Repton recollected to have seen a fine engraving of "king John's cup" at Lynn Regis; but he was suspicious as to the tradition in relation to king John, as portions of the architecture, as well as representations of the strawberry-leaf which decorate it, made him think it could not be of an earlier time than that of Edward III.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Repton ventured to suggest that the cup may have belonged to John of France when he returned after his imprisonment in England. Mr. Repton exhibited representations of the strawberry-leaf on columns supporting brackets of flowers; on cornices of buildings; on an old timber house at Bungay, beautifully introduced over a small square window, and over the doors on each side of it; and on an oriel window having a shield with the date of 1525. The costume of two kneeling ladies with curious sleeves proved this specimen to be of the time of Henry VIII. The strawberry-leaf was largely introduced in the wooden work of the roof of Great Baddow church; and upon the repairs of that building a quantity was presented to Mr. Repton, who employed it in the new chapel at Springfield, Essex, where it forms an admirable ornament to the reading-desk, the canopy of the new font, the Communion table, and the ceiling of the chancel.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming read a paper "On Ancient Spindles," which, with illustrations, will appear in a future *Journal*.

<sup>1</sup> On this subject the reader is referred to the report of the meeting of the Association at Lynn during the Norfolk Congress, 1857. See p. 148 *ante*.

Mr. Barnes exhibited various relics recently obtained by him amid the ruins of ancient Babylon, viz.,—1, a small carnelian seal, with the figure of a cock; 2, hemispherical seal of carnelian, with a quadruped; 3, ampulla-shaped vessel, with handle, three inches and a quarter high, its material and light-coloured glaze closely assimilating in character to the delft ware of the seventeenth century,—the specimen is, however, of undoubted antiquity; 4, beardless head, broken from a small statuette of light coloured terra-cotta, much like the heads of figures discovered in Mexico;<sup>1</sup> 5, portion of an inscribed brick. Layard, in his *Nineveh and its Remains* (ii, 187, ed. 1849), remarks that, “the inscriptions on the Babylonian bricks are generally enclosed in a small square, and are formed with considerable care and nicety. They appear to have been impressed with a stamp, upon which the entire inscription, and not isolated letters, was cut in relief. This art, so nearly approaching to the modern invention of printing, is proved to have been known, at a very remote epoch, to the Egyptians and Chinese.”

Mr. Gould exhibited a very fine Taheitan adze, the basaltic blade measuring about ten inches in length, and two inches and a half wide at the cutting edge. The blade is securely bound on to the stout wooden handle with neatly made cinet.

#### MAY 26.

#### T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Coard Squarey, esq., mayor of Salisbury, was elected an associate.

Mr. J. Clarke, of Easton, exhibited a fine gold ring, lately bought of a dealer who was unable to state whence it had been obtained. It is of the fifteenth century, perfectly circular, flat on the inner surface, and convex on the outer, upon which is inscribed: +IHESVS+NASARENVS+REX+IVDIORVM+.

In the *Gent. Mag.*, October 1784, is an engraving of a ring bearing the words, “Jhs Nazaren Rex Judeorum,” followed by some unexplained letters. It is stated that “this is not an uncommon form of inscription; and there is a remarkable one, in the same words, on the hinge of Munassing church in Essex.”

In the Doucean Museum is an ancient silver ring, to cure the cramp, on which is inscribed, “Jhs nazarenus Rex Judeorum.” Such rings were made from the money given by communicants.

Mr. Wills produced a merchant’s seal, of brass, of the close of the fifteenth century, recovered, about the year 1830, from the Thames, a little to the west of old London bridge. The handle has been most bar-

<sup>1</sup> Layard (ii, 215) notices the resemblance of a head found at Kouyunjik with those met with in Mexico.

barously scraped and filed since its discovery ; but the matrix remains intact, and displays a shield charged with a  $\tau$ , surmounted by a wheel supporting a cross, from one side of which projects two arm-like branches. The legend on the verge reads, *s. TOMES PORT LOND.* Seal of Thomas Port of London.

Mr. Syer Cuming observed : "It was well known that, during the middle ages, almost every merchant had his peculiar mark or cognizance, which constituted a sort of trade heraldry, with which he signed his letters and impressed his goods ; so that the property of one individual could be easily distinguished from that of another. In our *Journal* (ii, 114) are given five examples of seals of the fifteenth century, copied from documents in the Rolls Chapel, Chancery-lane, two of which have branches from the shaft of the cross, like those seen on Mr. Wills's specimen. I exhibit an impression of a merchant's seal of the fifteenth century, in the possession of Mr. Durden of Blandford, in which the shield is charged with a wheel and cross, with lateral branches, placed between the letters *T. N.* Letters on merchants' seals are not uncommon ; but the presence of a regular legend, like that now before us, is rarely met with, and therefore well merits attention. I also lay before you an impression of a silver matrix of the middle of the seventeenth century, which is of interest from the circumstance of the name and country of the merchant being well known,—*S. Drach* of Frankfort on the Maine. The cognizance is a heart, enclosing the letters *s. d.*, and is surmounted by the cross and 4-shaped figure so familiar to us in the mark of the East India Company."

Mr. Cuming made the following observations

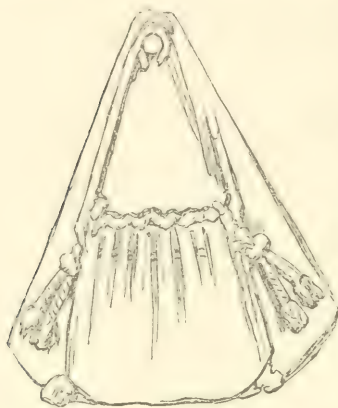
#### ON THE CHANCELLOR'S SEAL-BAG.

"The chancellor, or, as he is now entitled, the lord high chancellor of England, was, from early times, not only the keeper of the king's conscience, but the keeper also of the great seals of the realm, which at one period he bore by his side as the insignia of office,<sup>1</sup> but which are now carried before him in a bag of crimson velvet garnished with tassels, having the royal arms in broder-work on its front. When the seals were first deposited in a bag, and when that bag was first adorned with heraldic devices, are curious questions well worthy of consideration ; and with a view of calling attention to them, we have now placed before us a sketch of what is believed to be a chancellor's bag, sculptured on a fragment of a monument in Rochester cathedral. (See woodcut.) Upon this curious relic the rev. Robert Whiston, M.A., has kindly favoured the Association with the following remarks :

"This bag is carved on a small fragment of stone, which has evidently been detached, or rather broken off, from some monument lying with

<sup>1</sup> See Fosbroke (*s. v.* seals), who refers to the *Decem Scriptores*, 713.

other fragments of stone of an older date, in what is called St. William's Chapel in our cathedral. To what it originally belonged is now not



known for certain; but the verger—a depository of traditions on such subjects—tells me that it is generally supposed to have belonged to a monumental effigy of the great Walter de Merton, bishop of Rochester, thrice chancellor of England, *i.e.*, in the reigns of Henry III, and afterwards of his successor, Edward I.<sup>1</sup> His tomb in Rochester cathedral has been recently repaired,—I should rather say, renewed—by the warden and fellows of Merton college, Oxford, of which the chancellor was the founder.’

“Mr. Whiston further observes, that this piece of sculpture ‘is clearly of a more recent date than the fragments with which it is associated, and looks sharp, clean, and fresh’; and these appearances are quite consistent with the age of the monument of which it is said to be a portion. It is somewhat doubtful when the original memorial of Walter de Merton was erected; but it is well known to have been *renewed* by Merton college during the wardenship of sir Henry Saville, in the year 1598; and the fragment in question is, in all probability, a portion of this Elizabethan renovation. Mr. Whiston says that the bag represented ‘was clearly of leather’; and it is not impossible that the chancellor’s bag was once of this material, though now formed of more costly fabric. If we grant that this fragment be a portion of the De Merton monument,—and we see no reason to doubt the tradition,—the question at once suggests itself, Does it represent the chancellor’s bag of the time of the Tudors? or did the restorers of the tomb copy that which they found carved on the memorial, raised, according to some, in the reign of Edward I?<sup>2</sup> The royal arms upon the chancellor’s bag are now so familiar to us, that we can scarcely conceive one without them; but still there may have been a period when it was unadorned. And the sculpture to which Mr. Whiston now draws attention, forms an interesting and curious example upon which to raise the question of the antiquity of the chancellor’s seal-bag and its decorations.”

Mr. G. R. Corner, F.S.A., exhibited a beautiful bowl composed of fifteen staves of polished turbo-shell riveted to a low foot of gilt brass, the upper edge being encircled with a hoop of the same metal. It stands

<sup>1</sup> Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors*, i, p. 161.

<sup>2</sup> See *A Walk through Rochester Cathedral*.



two inches and seven-eighths high, measures about five inches and a half diameter, and is capable of holding a full pint of liquid. Dishes, bowls, and cups of pearl shell were in much esteem at the close of the sixteenth and during the early part of the seventeenth century. Heywood, in his *Philocothonista* (1635, p. 45), when enumerating the drinking-vessels of his time, speaks of those "made of the shells of divers fishes brought from the Indies and other places, and shining like mother-of-pearle." Her majesty possesses a very elegant cup, the body of which is formed of staves of turbo-shell mounted on a stem and foot of silver-gilt, and having a cover with rich foliated handle of silver embellished with green enamel. Nefs, hanaps, and other costly pieces of table furniture, constructed of shell, in like way to the above specimen, are to be met with in various collections; and it may not be out of place to observe that the polished but unmounted turbo has been employed as a festive cup in Wales to a comparatively late period.

Mr. Curle called attention to one of the javelin-knives employed in Mexico, to throw at an adversary; and which, from their comparatively small size, are easily concealed about the person until the moment for action arrives. The present specimen has a broad lanceolate blade, three inches and a quarter in length; flat on one side, but having the other beveled towards the extremity, at the back, so as to render the point more acute; and engraved with foliated scrolls, and the words, "*Sirbo ami dueno*" (I serve my master). The blade closes into a buffalo-horn handle inlaid and mounted with brass, engraved with bands, having a stud or boss at the end, against which the fore-finger is placed as a propeller in discharging the weapon from the hand. Mottos similar in character to that on this javelin-knife seem to have long been favourites with the Spaniards. In proof of this, Mr. Curle cited the following passage from Macfarlane's translation of *Two French Artists in Spain*: "He produced a long Catalan blade, with his device upon it, '*Soy defensor de mi dueno solo*' (I defend only my master)." And Mr. Syer Cuming exhibited a clasp-knife, made about the year 1730, the brass haft of which bears on each side the arms of Spain, crowned; and above, within an arched label, the words, "*my dueno*" (my master); and over it a square banner with the letters W. R. conjoined. This specimen was recovered from the Thames in 1856.

Mr. Cuming read some observations on the antiquity of clasp-knives, which will appear in the *Journal*.

Mr. George Vere Irving read a paper "On Earthworks and other Ancient Fortifications in the County of Norfolk, visited in 1857," subsequent to the Congress held at Norwich by the Association. (See pp. 193-215, and pp. 305-310 *ante*.)

JUNE 9.

JOHN LEE, LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :

*To the Society.* Collections of the Surrey Archæological Society. Vol. I.

Part II. London, 1858. 8vo.

*To the Publisher.* Gentleman's Magazine for June. 8vo.*To Mr. Jobbins.* Civil Engineer's and Architect's Journal for June. 4to.*To Mr. J. Adey Repton.* Carved oak boss exhibiting the strawberry-leaf, to illustrate his communication on that ornament.

Mr. Pettigrew exhibited, on the part of Mr. Walter Hawkins, F.S.A., an illustration of a portion of the reputed vision of Henry I, and read a short paper regarding it. (See pp. 331-334 *ante*.)

Mr. Charles Ainslie exhibited two British coins reported to have been dug up during the late works carried on in St. James' park. The one is of gold, weighing eighty-eight grains, and may be compared with Nos. 11, 14, and 16, of Ruding's first plate; but it is of far better execution than either of the pieces there delineated. The second coin is of silver, and weighs eighty-six grains. The obverse is much like Nos. 46 and 47 of Ruding's third plate; but the horse on the reverse has an object beneath it similar to that seen on the one figured in our *Journal* (v, 11).

Mrs. Prest exhibited a fine paalstab, ploughed up in a field in Cundall Manor, North Riding of York. It is in a high state of preservation, and measures seven inches in length, three inches across the cutting edge, and is made without a side-loop.

Mr. John Gray exhibited a cavalier's medal, of silver-gilt, similar in every respect to one laid before the Association in 1856, and described in the *Journal* for that year (p. 255).

Mr. G. H. Baskcomb exhibited a novel example of the jimmel or gim-mal ring, consisting of *three* gold circlets moving on a rivet, which passes through them at back. On the front of the centre ring is a small heart; and on each of the other two is a hand, which, when brought together in a grasp, conceal the heart beneath them. The jimmel ring generally consists of *two* circlets; but that *three* were at times employed is evident not only from the present specimen, but also from the lines in Herrick's *Hesperides*, entitled "The Jimmel Ring, or True-Love-Knot"—

"Thou sent'st to me a true-love-knot; but I  
Return'd a ring of jimmals, to imply  
Thy love had one knot, mine a *triple tye*."

Mr. Baskcomb's ring is about the time of James I, and was ploughed up at Chislehurst in 1844. A ring somewhat like it, but consisting of two interlinked circlets, is engraved in Hone's *Table Book*, vol. ii, p. 2.

Mr. Baskcomb also exhibited a large oval tobacco-box, of wood, of the seventeenth century. On the lid is carved a nimbed figure of the Saviour casting out the money-changers from the Temple. The sides of the box are adorned with birds, scrolls, etc.; and the bottom with a representation of a battle, the two chief combatants being equestrians, the one armed with a sword, the other with a spear,—both being left-handed. Three females in the distance appear to be watching the fight. This box was found, in 1849, concealed under the floor-joist of one of the attic rooms of the Manor House, Chislehurst.

Mr. W. H. Forman exhibited a fine series of steel spurs, of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in a high state of preservation. The earliest are a small pair of the time of Henry V, or of the commencement of the reign of his successor, Henry VI. The shanks are bent down, at an acute angle, near the perforations at the ends. The stems are short and curved downward, and the small rowels have eight points, each spicule terminating in a little disc. An exceedingly fine pair of spurs, of the early part of Henry VII's reign, have very large rowels with seven spear-shaped points set in long stems. A pair of large spurs, of the time of Henry VIII, have rose-rowels of six short broad points, the stems terminating in horses' heads, and the long shanks being inlaid with gilt brass. A pair of elegant spurs, of the commencement of Elizabeth's reign, have their shanks and stems inlaid with silver, and the rose-rowels have eight points. A pair of spurs of the latter part of her reign have the stems and shanks inlaid with silver in a similar way; but the rowels consist of six large spear-shaped points.

Of far greater interest than the other examples is a pair of unique spurs, with straight shanks, engraved with leaves and cross-hatchings, having two straight slits in each limb for the straps; and five stems, curving upwards, for the rowels, each rowel being formed of eight spokes, each spoke having an eight-pointed stimulus moving in it. This pair of spurs is of excellent finish, and are in all probability the most extraordinary specimens in existence; and may be regarded as productions of the fifteenth century, though no direct clue to their exact date can at present be pointed out.

Mr. Forman also produced a pair of wrought steel stirrups, of the sixteenth century, much like the basket-hilts of the old claymores in design. And one of a pair of brass stirrups, of the close of Elizabeth's reign, the strap-front being decorated with a head, and the sides of the arch with figures, vases, etc. The foot-rest is a circle crossed by two parallel bars.

Mr. Ecroyd Smith transmitted a large assemblage of antiquities found on the Cheshire shore, which were referred to Mr. Cuming to arrange and describe. These will appear in a future *Journal*.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming read the following notice

## ON FORGED MATRICES OF MÆDIEVAL SEALS.

“It is a lamentable fact that no one branch of archæology has escaped the blighting taint of falsehood. Every age, since the revival of letters, has been cursed with its forgers,—some expert artists, others clumsy bunglers with scarce wit enough to work out their base design of deception and robbery. This Association has often stood forward to expose and denounce the crafty doings of the wily cheat, whether he be native or alien; and its vigilance has won for it a renown of which it may well be proud.

“To the cases of fraud already recorded, we have now to add another, which, if not fearlessly proclaimed, may hereafter entangle the thread of history, and perplex the labours of the herald and genealogist. The deception we would now bring to notice is the forgery of the matrices of mediæval seals bearing the names of barons and ecclesiastics, saints and cities, and mottos of difficult interpretation. From the style of execution, and formula of legend, they appear to be the productions of an Italian possessing some knowledge of the arts and history of bygone times. Their material is a species of bronze; and they have, in every instance, been cast in a mould, so that more than one duplicate of the same matrix is known to exist. They are of three distinct forms, triangular, vesica-shaped, and round. The devices are heraldic bearings, religious emblems, etc.; and they are mostly inscribed with Roman characters, though a few have Gothic letters. The baronial seals predominate in number over the ecclesiastical; and the latter over the civic, of which few seem to have been made.

“I have ascertained that these forged matrices made their *débüt* in London in the year 1840-41; and for a time several curiosity shops teemed with them, good prices being realized by their sale. They, however, gradually disappeared, being dispersed far and wide over the country; and every now and then one or two are produced as a *trouvaille* made amid the ruins of some famous abbey or time-honoured castle.<sup>1</sup> Our member, Mr. T. Wills, has succeeded in obtaining a good variety of these forged matrices: his collection now numbering between twenty and thirty examples, which he kindly permits to be placed before the Association. Most of the baronial seals appear to be of imaginary persons of imaginary places, though occasionally a recognizable character is met with, as, for instance, Ezelin, viscount of Ferrara. The pretended seal of this stout captain bears an eagle displayed, surrounded by the legend, †S. EZELINI . VICE . COMITIS . FERR. Another matrix with the imperial eagle purports to be of Francis Gurdi. Among the examples produced, four of the triangular are inscribed with the names

<sup>1</sup> One professed to have been discovered at Winchester, is described in the *Journal* (iii, 125). It is vesica-shaped, and has an Agnus Dei for device, surrounded by the legend, S. ANDREE CLR. ICI.



of Aldrovac di Ugolini, Arnold de Scopabundio, Joannes de Baioaria, and Othonis Caraleri Anagnie.<sup>1</sup> The shield of Ugolini is charged with a bend of fusils; and the same arms are given on a circular matrix inscribed *†.S. TOMAXIVS D FILLE DVXII DE TARE*. But it is not worth while to speculate whether these two persons were related one to the other; it is enough for present purposes to know that both seals have a common parentage in the nineteenth century. Another triangular matrix bears the legend, *s. PRENDE PARTI DE PICO*, which may be rendered, 'take the seal, divide the pitch'; the idea of *pitch* being derived from the *maltha* anciently employed instead of wax.<sup>2</sup>

"A shield-shaped matrix bears the words *FAFZABENE MAGRI JOHIS*; and the following names occur on circular ones: Anbroxius, son of Patavini; Bonus, count of Canale;<sup>3</sup> Francis Benedice de Adria, Johannis de Uchnih, Peter Canoicipaue, sir Peter de Tirice, and Tancred de Rosciano. Who these worthies were, it is difficult to tell. All I can say is, that I have not yet succeeded in discovering their names in any ancient chronicle. Two of the vesica-shaped matrices, in the style of those of the thirteenth century, profess to be the seals of notaries named Angelo<sup>4</sup> and Ofredutus. Others, of the same form, are inscribed, 'Laureno, son of Brio; Nicola Olici, of St. Peter's,' etc.; and there is one with the figure of St. Martin dividing his coat with a beggar, which is stated to have been found at Canterbury in 1850.<sup>5</sup>

"To revert again to the circular matrices, we may mention a large one with the demi-figure of a bishop above a gigantic cock, surrounded by an invocation to St. Donato to pray for the people of some unknown place. Another with a demi-figure and the legend, *s. ECCLESIE SANCTI ARTE PROPINTE*. A third, with a shield charged with a bend chequy between two stars, and surmounted by a mitre: legend, *AVGVSTINVS EPVS ARGOLICESIS* (Augustin, bishop of Argos). And a fourth, and that the largest, professing to be the seal of the city of Kremtee. The field is occupied with a large quatrefoil, with an angel in each division, who assist in upholding a large shield with two others within it: that on the dexter side being charged as follows,—on a fess, three mascles;

<sup>1</sup> A duplicate copy of this seal was exhibited to the Archaeological Institute, Nov. 4, 1853. Anagnia is a small city in the States of the Church.

<sup>2</sup> This seal brings to mind another modern forgery, reading, *FRANGE, LEGE, TEGE* (break open, read, conceal); and which may be compared with one described in the *Journal* (ii, 101), *LITE, LEGE, TEGE* (sacrifice—the seal, read, conceal).

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Wills has a duplicate of this matrix.

<sup>4</sup> This matrix (of which I possess a duplicate) was pretended to have been exhumed in the precincts of Exeter cathedral in 1848. The name reminds us of Angelo Vergicio, the Greek emigrant in France in the time of Francis I; whose calligraphy was so exquisitely beautiful, that his name became identified with fine writing, and gave rise to the proverbial expression, "to write like an angel."

<sup>5</sup> A silver matrix, of the fifteenth century, bearing a similar device, is described in the *Journal* (iv, 388).

that on the sinister, with a wingless griffin rampant: legend, SIGILLVM CIVITATIS KREMTCE, 1453.

"I have been induced to enter thus into detail, with the hope that by so doing our country members may be made aware of the true nature of these pseudo-antiques, which have remained too long undescribed; but though the warning comes somewhat late, it may still have its use; for scores of these forged matrices exist, mingled with genuine objects, in the cabinets of collectors, and among the stores of those who are ever ready to make the collector his victim and his dupe."

The Association was then adjourned to the 24th of November.

#### NOVEMBER 24.

T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following associates were announced as having been enrolled since the meeting of June 9th:

The marquis of Ailesbury, Pall Mall.

The earl of Carnarvon, Colonial Office.

The lord Arundell of Wardour, Wardour Castle, Shaftesbury.

The hon. John Arundell, ditto.

The right rev. the lord bishop of Salisbury, Palace, Salisbury.

Sir Edmund Antrobus, bart., Amesbury.

Matthew Henry Marsh, esq., M.P., Wilbury park, Marlborough.

Rev. Daniel James Eyre, M.A., sub-dean of cathedral, Salisbury.

Rev. Arthur Fane, M.A., prebendary of Salisbury, Warminster.

Rev. Francis Lear, M.A., prebendary of Salisbury, Bishopstone.

Rev. W. Collings Lukis, M.A., F.S.A., Collingbourne Ducis, Marlborough.

Rev. John Wilkinson, M.A., Broughton Giffard Rectory, Melksham.

Rev. Francis Henry Wilkinson, B.A., West Ashton, Trowbridge.

Rev. John D. Hastings, M.A., Rectory, Trowbridge.

Rev. Thomas Spyers, D.D., Weybridge Rectory, near Chertsey.

William Foster Rooke, M.D., Belvedere House, Scarborough.

Robert Boyd, M.D., Edinburgh.

Capt. John Oldmixon, R.N., Onslow-crescent, Brompton.

Edward W. Brodie, esq., Salisbury.

Henry J. F. Swayne, esq., Netherhampton House, Salisbury.

Lewis W. Jarvis, esq., Lynn.

William Goulden, esq., Peter-street, Canterbury.

William Sim, esq., 7, Dane's Inn, Strand.

Thomas Borman Winsor, esq., Royal Exchange Assurance Office.

Stephen Catterson, esq., Bank of England.

Edward Studd, esq., Netheravon House, Amesbury.

Edward Ravenhill, esq., Warminster.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :

- From the Society.* Archæologia, vol. 37, Part II; by the Society of Antiquaries : 4to. Their Proceedings. 8vo.
- „ „ Proceedings of the Royal Society, Nos. 31 and 32. 8vo.
- „ „ Journal of the Archæological Institute, Nos. 57 and 58. 8vo.
- „ „ Journal of the Canadian Institute for June and September. 8vo.
- „ „ Notes on Ecclesiastical Remains at Runston, Sudbrook, etc. By O. Morgan, M.P., and Thomas Wakeman, of the Caerleon Antiquarian Association. 8vo.
- From the Board of Trade.* 2nd and 3rd Nos. of Meteorological Papers published by the Board of Trade. 4to. 1858.
- From the Publisher.* Gentleman's Magazine for July, August, September, October, and November. 8vo.
- From W. H. Salter, esq.* Four large photographic views of Romsey Abbey church.
- From the Author.* Essay on Heraldry; by J. F. Y. Mogg. 2nd edit. 8vo. 1858.
- „ „ Illustrated, Historical, and Picturesque Guide to Swanage and the Isle of Purbeck; by P. Brannon. 8vo. 1858.
- „ „ Geologic Scenery of Purbeck; by P. Brannon. No. I. 1858.
- „ „ On Archæological Demands, etc.; by A. H. Rhind. 8vo. 1858.
- „ „ On Treasure Trove; by the same. 8vo. 1858.
- From R. Welch, esq.* Archbishop Laud's Benefactions to Berkshire; The Chronicle of Abingdon; Unton Inventories, published by the Ashmolean Society. 3 vols. 4to. 1841 et seq.
- From the Editor.* Horological Journal, No. 1. 8vo.

Mr. R. Sadd forwarded a sketch of a Celtic spear-head, of bronze, recently found at Bottisham Lode, near Cambridge. It is similar to one discovered at Cuerdale, and engraved in the *Journal* (viii, p. 322, fig. 2).

Mr. Vere Irving produced the two *ollæ* described in his paper on the Cissbury camps, and engraved in the *Journal* (1857, p. 287, pl. 37). The chevron round the upper part of the taller vessel (which is of elegant contour) still retains a faint trace of the gilding which may once have overlaid the ornament. The smaller *olla* is of coarser fabric than its companion. The paste resembles that of late Celtic fictilia, and is imperfectly baked; but the surface is smooth and somewhat polished. Mr. Irving also exhibited an iron spur of the time of Henry VI, and an iron key of the fifteenth century; both of which had been exhumed at Cissbury.

Mr. W. H. Forman laid before the meeting a rare and curious Roman key, of bronze, two inches and three-quarters long, in perfect condition, and beautifully patinated. The bow is annular, with a fillet round the upper part of the stem, which has an ornamental termination. The quadridentate web is about three-quarters of an inch each way; and at right angles to it projects a pelta-shaped ornament of most unusual character. In some respects this *clavis* may be compared with one in the Génévieve cabinet, engraved by Montfaucon (*Antiq.*, iii, p. 1, pl. lv); but is of a more enriched design. (See pl. 26, fig. 3.)

Mr. Wills exhibited a small lock brought from Hever Castle, Kent, used to secure the inside of the door of a cabinet or armoire. It is of iron, about three inches and three-quarters long. The end of the plate upon which the bolt moves, and the one covering its butt, are fleur-de-lis shaped; and the broach is fixed in a rosette of ten rays. This specimen may be assigned to the reign of Henry VII, and therefore somewhat anterior in date to the lock from the same locality, formerly in the Cottingham collection, which has on it the initials of Henry VIII, and the badges of the king and Anne Boleyn,—the portcullis and trunk of a tree with roses.

Mr. Wills also exhibited a large key with pipe and open bit, reported to have belonged to the boudoir of Anne Boleyn, in Hever Castle; but, unfortunately for the truth of this statement, it is a chamberlain's key of the seventeenth century, from Germany. It is, however, a magnificent specimen, nearly seven inches long, of brass strongly gilt, having an ample bow elegantly fashioned in bold open scrolls. The Bernal collection was rich in examples of chamberlains' keys of gilt metal, as is likewise the South Kensington Museum.

Mr. Arthur Mussell, of Longford Castle, forwarded the gold crown called the Britain crown of James I: his bust on the *obv.*, with "Jacobus D. G. Mag. Brit., Franc., & Hib., Rex"; and on the *rev.* the king's arms surmounted by the crown, and around, "Henricus Rosas, Regna Jacobus." It is figured in Ruding (pl. xi, fig. 12). The specimen was dug up out of a chalk pit, in July last, on White Parish Hill, five miles south-east of Salisbury.

Mr. J. Clarke, of Easton, forwarded the impression of a gold ring with the motto, "To God's decree wee boath agree." Also a rubbing from a carved cabinet having the name of Robert Veysy, and his merchant's mark.

Mr. H. C. Pidgeon exhibited a curious wooden stirrup, and a hot water jug, now used in Chili; also a model foot, taken from an Indian grave, which Mr. Cuming declared to have been a drinking vessel.

The rev. Beale Poste forwarded some further observations relative to the antiquities found at Marden in Kent.

Mr. Syer Cuming made the following communication respecting



## FORGED MATRICES OF ANCIENT SEALS.

“England’s greatest satirist has said—

‘Doubtless the pleasure is as great  
Of being cheated, as to cheat’;

and though this may be felt so in some quarters, it is not universally the case; and proud we are to find that there are some ready and willing to aid in exposing and denouncing fraud and chicanery in whatever form they may appear; and to these friends to truth my thanks are offered for the materials which form the groundwork of the subjoined narrative.

“Our closing meeting in June last<sup>1</sup> was rendered memorable by a most remarkable exhibition of pseudo-antique matrices of seals of foreign fabric; and I have, on the present occasion, to bring to notice forged matrices of home manufacture, presenting marked differences in style from those previously produced. These matrices made their appearance in Yorkshire towards the close of the year 1851; and by May 1852 they had found their way into Lancashire. The substances of which they are composed are lead, a close-grained black stone, and an inferior kind of jet or shale; and they bear the names of real historic persons, as well as the names of purely imaginary individuals; the legends reading from the outside of the verge, and the letters being of a peculiar fashion. The impressions before us offer fair examples of the forger’s manner of treating both classic and mediæval matrices. That which purports to be the most ancient is of lead, of an oval form, bearing in its field a profile bust copied, or rather moulded, from a coin of Julia Mamaea. The legend reads, S. IVLIA MAMAEA AVG.; and though this royal lady was a pagan, the forger has still thought fit to place the monogram of Christ on the reverse of her reputed *signum*. This matrix is in the possession of a gentleman residing at Bury, and was professed to have been found in a field at Mumps, near Oldham, together with denarii of Trajan and Vespasian; large brass of Trajan, Faustina, Gordian, and Decius; and third brass of Tetricus, Constantine II, etc.

“Proceeding in chronological order, we next have a vesica-shaped matrix of jet, stated to have been discovered near the ruins of St. Hilda’s abbey, Whitby, North Riding of York. It professes to be the *signum* of the emperor Constantius Chlorus, and bears the profile of that monarch within the ends of a true-love-knot, the verge being inscribed with the words, SIG. CONSTANTIVS EBARACVM—a mistake for Eboracum or York, Constantius having lived some time in that city, where he breathed his last in July A.D. 306; which date seems to be indicated by the letters CCCVI on the back of the matrix. I have to acknowledge my obligations to Mr. Augustus W. Franks, of the British Museum, for the means of placing before you an impression of this strange production.

“The matrix third in apparent date was professed to have been found

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 348-350.

at Mumps with the coins previously mentioned. It is vesica-shaped, and composed of two materials,—the centre, with the device of a trefoil, being of jet or shale; the verge of lead. The legend is, -|- SIG. MAXI. IMPERA; and therefore probably intended to pass for the *signum* of the emperor Maximus, who ruled in Spain, Gaul, and Britain, in the last half of the fourth century. On the back of the matrix we again see the Christian monogram formed of the Greek letters X and P.

“The fourth matrix, also professedly from Mumps, is wholly of jet, of a lozenge form, with the monogram of Christ in the field, the verge bearing the words, SIGIL: OSWALDI. DE. ASTVNE, *i.e.*, seal of Oswald de Ashton. This and the previous matrix are in the possession of a gentleman at Manchester, who is believed to have paid rather severely for them.

“The fifth impression is from a lozenge-shaped matrix of jet, bearing in its centre a figure which may be intended for that of the Saviour. The legend reads, + SIG. OSWALDI. DE. BOLTVNE (seal of Oswald de Bolton). This matrix is in the cabinet of Dr. Kendrick of Warrington, who purchased it of a man in the dress of a ‘navvy’, and described himself as a brickmaker at Wigan; stating that he found the object among the clay which he was moulding into bricks.

“The sixth impression is likewise from a lozenge-formed matrix of jet, presented to Mr. Mayer by a lady who thought she was presenting to her friend a perfect gem. It has in the field a cross patée; and on the verge the words, SIG. ROBERTI DE BVRIE (seal of Robert de Bury).

“On January 9, 1852, Mr. E. J. Willson exhibited to the Archæological Institute a lozenge-shaped matrix of jet, engraved with a rudely-formed cross patée, and the legend, SIGIL: ALBINO: DE: HEYDEN. On the reverse, four deep punctures. This modern antique is stated to have been found at Lincoln.

“The seals above described are either oval, vesica-shaped, or lozenge-formed; but the next impression introduces us to a heart-shaped matrix of jet, with its field charged with a cross patée, and the verge inscribed, SIG. OSBERTI DE HILTVNE. This appears to be one of several parodies of an original jet matrix bearing the same legend, discovered near Whitby abbey about the year 1846, and now preserved in the Whitby museum.

“Having commenced with the seals of Roman potentates, I shall conclude with that of one of our own sovereigns, the renowned Richard Cœur de Lion. This jet matrix is of a triangular form, its field displaying a spiked mace, sword, and battle-axe, above the full face of a lion. The legend on the verge reads, SIG: RICARDI: REG: BR: GAVL: ET: HIB. On the field, DIEV ET MON DROIT, the king’s *cri-de-guerre* at the victory of Gisors in 1193, which afterwards became the national motto. For the impression of this matrix, as well as that of De Hilton, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Franks.

"All the matrices now referred to were clearly designed to pass for personal seals; but there are a few issued from the same *atelier*, which cannot be appropriated to either emperor, king, or baron. Such are two exhibited to the Archaeological Institute on December 3rd, 1852: the first, an oval matrix of metal, set with a black stone, bearing a bearded bust of an old man, described on the verge as CAPVT: SERVI: DEI: S: C: (the head of God the Saviour.) On the reverse the Christian monogram. This was stated to have been found in digging a grave at Spilsby, Lincolnshire; but was purchased of a person who described himself as a dealer residing at Hull. The second matrix is wholly of black stone, of an oval form, graven with a lamb, eye, and dove, surrounded by the motto, TRIA IUNCTA IN VNO. IVRE. DIVINO. QVIS. SEP. On the reverse, a monstrous face, a saltire, and a crescent. This was professed to have been discovered in the ancient fortress known as Maiden Castle, on Stainmoor, Westmoreland.

"It will be perceived that several of the matrices now described bear the names of places in Lancashire; and there can hardly be a doubt but that the whole of them were manufactured either in that county, or Yorkshire, to deceive the local antiquaries. Suspicion, nearly amounting to certainty, has pointed to one individual as the forger; but wherever fraud is contemplated, truth is difficult of access. But though the operator may shroud himself in mystery, his works are manifest; and upon these we have the right and privilege of passing judgment."

Mr. Pettigrew read the continuation and concluding part of his "Notes on the Seals of the Endowed Grammar Schools of England and Wales." (See pp. 311-326 *ante*.)

Mr. Syer Cuming made the following communication in relation to a

#### ROMAN COFFIN DISCOVERED AT SHADWELL.

"Having received intimation from Mr. A. F. Andrews, the resident engineer at the London Docks, that an ancient coffin of lead had been exhumed, on the 29th of September, near the new Shadwell basin, I lost no time in hastening to the spot to view the object. On my arrival I learnt that it had been removed to an adjacent building on the premises; and there, with the kind assistance of Mr. Andrews, I made a careful examination of it. The first glance revealed the fact that another Roman *loculus* was to be added to those already recorded in our *Journal* (ii, 297, ix, 161), and agreeing closely in general character with them.

"Before proceeding to a detailed description, it will be well to state that the cist was met with in the high ground at the northern portion of the Docks, at no great distance from the south-west corner of the churchyard of St. Paul; that it was placed east and west, and lay on, or was rather buried in, the gravel, at a depth of about nine feet from the surface of the factitious earth which covered it. The dimensions of the

coffin are as follow: length, five feet nine inches; breadth at head, fifteen inches; breadth at feet, thirteen inches; interior depth, eleven inches. It is constructed of a stout sheet of metal, bent up to form the sides, and has had square pieces secured to the ends with massive lines of solder. The head of the coffin has not been met with; but the foot is found to be decorated with representations of two pecten shells placed side by side, hinge downwards; and these constitute the only ornaments occurring on the cist itself. But the *operculum*, or lid, is much enriched. The latter, which has lost a portion of its upper part, is held in its place by the edges folding over the sides and ends of the cist, and has a band of ring and bead ornament running round its verge; the centre being occupied with large rhombs, with a half rhomb at the extremity, formed of the same kind of ornament as that on the verge; and in each are two pectens, a single shell being placed in the angular spaces along the sides of the central embellishment. All the pectens are admirably wrought, the *forma* in which the coffin was cast having been apparently impressed with the natural shell. On the right side, towards the lower part of the lid, is a large round hole, with a corresponding hole through the bottom of the cist,—evidently made by a stout stake, or some heavy instrument, having been violently struck through the metal; and the lid is rendered concave from end to end by the pressure of the superincumbent soil. Traces of the lime in which the body was interred are visible on the interior of the cist, which, when found, contained only a very few bones in a fractured condition.

“The large perforation through the coffin, the loss of a portion of the lid, the oxydized surface of the fractures, the entire absence of the head of the cist, and its comparative emptiness, are all suggestive of the notion that the deposit has been disturbed and ransacked at some former period. But when was this period? Can it have been in or about the year 1615, when sir Robert Cotton describes the finding of a Roman chest of lead ‘beautifully embellished with scollop-shells and a crotister border,’ in the fields on the north-east of Shadwell,—the very district where the late discovery was made? What became of sir Robert’s coffin? Was it sold for old metal, as other like relics have been? Does it lie hid in the dark recesses of some unfrequented museum? Or was it again inhumed, with only a portion of the bones it once contained, to be rediscovered on the 29th of September A.D. 1858? The question is beset with difficulty. The solution may be of hard attainment; but the point is worthy of consideration.

“Neither *scutella*, or aught else, were met with on the day the *loculus* was brought to light; but in the afternoon of the 4th of October, and close to where the coffin was exhumed, the workmen found a *dupondius* of Trajan in a fair state of preservation, which is now the property of Mr. Peter Mellish of Shadwell, who has obligingly lent it to me for exhi-



bition. It bears on the *obr.* the crowned bust of the emperor, looking to the right: IMF CAES NERVA TRAIAN AVG GERM P.M. The *rev.* has a sedent figure of Fortune (?): . . . . . COS I., with *s.c.* in the exergue. In the same fields which produced sir Robert Cotton's cist, coins of Papienus and Gordian were also met with;<sup>1</sup> so that if the medals are to be esteemed as indicative of the period of these two interments (if two interments there be), the earliest *may* have occurred at the commencement of the second, the latest at the commencement of the third century of the Christian era. But too much stress ought not to be placed in regard to the presence of these coins, as they may have been buried long before or subsequent to that in which the remains were committed to the earth.

"I have, in conclusion, to announce the gratifying fact that the Shadwell coffin has been saved from the destroying melting-pot, and that it is now in the national collection, together with its osseous *reliquiæ*; offering a valuable example for comparison with the fragment of the leaden cist from Mansell-street, and the *operculum* from the *conditorium* of Haydon-square."

Plate 26, fig. 2, represents the coffin, its lid, and ornamentation.

DEC. 8.

JOHN LEE, LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Associates elected:

— Cully, esq., Norwich.

Mrs. Doubleday, 35, Soho-square.

Thanks were voted for the following presents:

*To the Publisher.* Gentleman's Magazine for December. 8vo.

„ „ Civil Engineer and Architects' Journal for July, August, September, October, November, and December. 4to.

Mr. Syer Cuming made a short communication on gilded *ficilia*. He observed that Mr. Vere Irving's views regarding the application of gold to the chevron surrounding the Cissbury *olla* may be supported by the well established fact that both Greeks and Romans employed *chrysos* or *aurum* in the decoration of their more costly *ficilia*. This circumstance was noted as far back as May 1815; and in a collection of Greek vases then sold by King and Lochée, in King-street, Covent Garden (lot 197), was a vessel of libation, which had among the pictured forms upon its surface a sumptuous *soros*, surmounted by a gilded lotus. The famous Beckford *lecythus*, with representation of Bacchus on a camel, etc., had its devices enriched with beaten gold. In the *Gent. Mag.* for May 1833, (p. 401) is engraved the neck and mouth of a Roman *gutturium*, found

<sup>1</sup> Weever's *Funerat Monuments*.

in Southwark, whose "surface appears to have been gilt." And in the Temple collection, now in the British Museum, is an exceedingly beautiful sitella-shaped vase, the moulded surface of which exhibits large patches of the gold with which it was once entirely covered. As a late, but still an interesting example of gilded terra-cotta, Mr. Cuming produced a fragment of the side of a very large cylindrical vessel bearing the head of a cherub (?), which, with the field from which it rises, retains portions of the gold that overspread the whole. This fragment can hardly be referred to an earlier period than the seventeenth century, and was recovered from the Thames, near the site of old London bridge, in November 1847.

Mr. W. H. Forman exhibited an *uraus*, or asp, in profile, with the disc. It is of bronze, three inches and a half high, the body divided into eight cavities, which are filled with blue, red, and white composition,—a coarse imitation of enamel setting. At the base is a flat-sided stem, for insertion into a socket, and at the back is a round loop for suspension.

Mr. C. Richardson exhibited a knife recovered from Fleet Ditch in September 1838. The ivory haft is wrought into a figure of Mercury with winged petasus, Roman lorica with lambrequins, long sagum and rich cothurni. A hunting-horn depends from a shoulder-belt over the right hip; and the left hand holds the caduceus. The date of this haft is about the middle of the seventeenth century, but it is fitted to a blade of the time of George I, stamped with a crown, G. R., and the maker's name, H. ROGERSON, LONDON.

Mr. Syer Cuming exhibited a Hispano-Mexican javelin knife, similar in form to the one produced by Mr. Curle, May 26th, 1858, but double its size,—measuring, when open, upwards of fifteen inches in length. The blade is six inches seven-eighths long; and on it is stamped the name of the maker, ROMERO. The upper part of the buffalo-horn haft is mounted with iron, the lower with brass.

Dr. Palmer, of Newbury, forwarded for exhibition a bottle of greenish grey terra-cotta, stated to have been found at Cold Ash, near Grimsbury, Berkshire. The vessel was accompanied by some notes by the rev. Mr. Kell, embodying his own and Dr. Palmer's views regarding it, and giving some account of the locality where it is said to have been met with. Mr. H. Syer Cuming observed that, in Denon's *Travels* (pl. 98, fig. 31), there is a representation of a similar vase; and in case 25 in the Egyptian room of the British Museum there are half-a-dozen similar bottles; one of which was presented to the national collection by sir Gardner Wilkinson. Mr. Cuming placed before the meeting a bottle discovered at Thebes by Giovanni d'Athanasi, which was essentially the same, in general contour, with Dr. Palmer's specimen, and has the surface impressed with similar scale-like forms, which constitute so leading a feature in vessels of this class. These vessels are believed to be copied

from the pine-cone; and, if so, may possibly have been wrought during the Persian dominion,—a sacred object with the Persians, and frequently placed in the hands of their eagle-headed god. The circular and rosette-shaped impressions also resemble ornaments occurring on the monuments of Nineveh.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming read a paper "On the Sheaths of Girdle-Knives," and illustrated it by various specimens from his own collection, and in the possession of Dr. Pettigrew, Mr. Curle, Mr. Mellish, and Mr. Meyrick.

---

#### ERRATA.

Page 34, line 20, *for* 1501, *read* 1051.

„ 82 „ 26, *for* monumental, *read* sacramental.

„ 92 „ 16, *for* mailed, *read* maseled.

„ 94 „ 22, *for* three, *read* five.

„ 95 „ 26, *for* Pegasus, *read* petasus.

„ 108 „ 24, *for* predictus, *read* predictis.

„ 164. Description of church to be referred to p. 152,—it belonging to Castle Rising, not Caister,—inserted by accident.

„ 191 „ 22, *for* sixty, *read* twenty.

„ — „ — *for* two thousand, *read* two hundred.

„ 275 „ 11, *for* shoes, *read* shoves.

„ 277 „ 24, *for* cross, *read* cogs.

„ 281 „ 1, *for* morocco purse, *read* purse from Morocco.



## INDEX.

## A.

ADVOCATES, proceedings regarding the admission of, in the Court of Arches in 1678, 339, 340  
 Aglet and aglet-hole piercers, on, by Mr. H. Syer Cuming, 262-266

— exhibited by Mr. Cum-  
 ing, Mr. Sadd, and Mr. Blakeley, 279

AINSLIE (C.), exhibits ancient British coins, 346

ALDEMARLE, THE EARL OF, speech upon opening the Norfolk Congress, 63, 64

AMIEL (W. E.), exhibits various coins, 287

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING —Auditors' report, 177, 178; donation fund, 1857, 178; statement of accounts, 179; life subscriptions, 180; election of associates, *ib.*; resignations, *ib.*; deaths, *ib.*; erased members for non-payment of subscriptions, 181; resolutions passed, *ib.*; election of officers and council for 1858, 182; obituary for 1857, 182-192

Appleyard's house, Norwich, remarkable flint work at, 81

Ardoch, on the camp at, 279

— remarks on, by Mr. Vere  
 Irving, 287

Asiatic weapons exhibited, 291

Asp, enamelled, exhibited, 358

Axe-blade found at Winchester, 292

## B.

Babylon, antiquities from, exhibited, 342

Baptistry at St. Peter Mancroft, 69

BARNES (—), exhibits antiquities from Babylon, 342

Barsham Hall (East), visit to, 166

— paper on, by Mr. Pettigrew, 169

BASKCOMB (G. H.), exhibits a gimmel ring, 346

— a tobacco-box with carv-  
 ing, 347

Bassingham, carved stone doorway of, at the Guild  
 Hall, Norwich, 81

BATEMAN (THOS.), on Celtic weapons found in the  
 Thames, 328-330

Bathwick, antiquities found in an ancient inter-  
 ment at, 336

BENNETT (REAR-ADMIRAL SIR FRANCIS), obituary  
 notice of, 192

Binham Priory, visit to, 166

— paper on, by Mr. Pettigrew, 166-168

Bishop's palace, Norwich, description of, 73

BLACK (W. H.), remarks on Raoul de Gael, 71

— on the Norwich cathedral records,  
 82-86

— on the corporation records of Lynn,  
 153-155

Black friars, Mr. Pettigrew on the convent of, at  
 Norwich, 110-123

BLAKELEY (E.), exhibits bronze snuff-box, 273

BOILEAU (SIR J. P.), his welcome to the Associa-  
 tion, 61, 65

Bosisio, discovery of paalstab and flint arrow-heads  
 at, 89

Bowl of turbo shell, remarks on, 344, 345

BOYSON (A.), exhibits a caltrop, 278; Mr. Cuming's  
 remarks on, *ib.*

— an iron spur-rowel, *comp.*  
 Richard II., 279

Bristol, brazen columns in front of the Exchange  
 at, 340, 341

British coins, ancient ones exhibited, 346

Bronze snuff-box exhibited, 273

Burgh camp, visit to, 157

— description by Mr. Pettigrew, 165

— remarks on, by sir J. P. Boileau, sir  
 Thomas Beevor, Mr. Planché, Mr. Vere Irving,  
 etc., *ib.*

BURNELL (H. H.), notes on Norwich cathedral, 44-50

## C.

Caister Castle, visit to, 164

— Mr. Pettigrew on, 223-237

— camp, visit to, 81

— discussion respecting, *ib.*

— sir J. Boileau's remarks on, 82

— Mr. Fitch's paper on, *ib.*

— remarks on, by Mr. Fitch, 123-129

Caltrop exhibited, 278

Castle Rising Castle, excursion to, 145-149

— description of, and remarks  
 on, by Mr. Pettigrew, 150-152

— church, Mr. Davis's report on, 156

Cavalier's medal exhibited, 346

Celtic antiquities found in Suffolk, 268

— spear-head found at Cambridge, 351

Chancellor's seal-bag, remarks on, 343, 344

Cheshire antiquities exhibited, 347

Chili, antiquities from, exhibited, 352

Cissbury, *ollæ*, etc., from, exhibited, 351

CLARKE (JAMES), exhibits three curious seals, 337  
 — a gold ring of the 15th

sec., 342

— another, with motto, 352

Coins found in the Crimea, exhibited, 268

— various, exhibited by Mr. Amiel, 287

CORNER (G. R.), on a deed witnessed by Peter  
 Shakespeare, 90

— exhibits a purse from Morocco, 281

— a Roman flower vase, 337

— a bowl of turbo shell, 344

CRIDDLE (HENRY), obituary notice of, 191

Cromwellian relic exhibited by Dr. Lee, 89

CUMING (H. SYER), on a mediæval vessel in form  
 of an equestrian knight, 91-93

— exhibits various torches, and

horse furniture found in Lancashire, 93

— on pretended discoveries of

British remains in Kent, 94, 95

— history of purses, 131-144

— on aglets and aglet-hole piercers,

262-266

— on a Roman epistomium, 269,

270

— on horse-shoes, 273-275

— on decade rings, 277, 278

— on caltrops, 278, 279

— on mirrors, 287

— on a lock and key of the 15th

sec., 288

— notes on the antiquities found

at Marden in Kent, 289-291

— on a Roman flower-vase found

in Southwark, 337, 338

— on ancient spindles, 341



CUMING (H. SYER), on merchants' seals, 343

343, 344

on the chancellor's seal-bar.

on knives, 345

on forged matrices of mediæval

seals, 348-350

on forged matrices of ancient

seals, 353-355

on a Roman coffin of lead found

at Shadwell, 355-357

on gilded tiptilia, 357

on a Mexican javelin-knife, 358

on the sheaths of girdle-knives,

359

on an Egyptian bottle, 358, 359

CURLE (C.), exhibits a Mexican javelin, 345

## D.

Dagger of the Holy Vehm, an ectype of, exhibited, 281

DAVIS (C. E.), report on Castle Rising church, 156  
description of Ely cathedral, 248-256

Decade rings, remarks on, by rev. F. Trappes, 271  
272

by Mr. H. Syer Cuming,

277, 278

DILLON (VICE-ADMIRAL SIR H.), obituary notice  
of, 191

DUNN (—) exhibits an ectype of the dagger of the  
Secret Black Tribunal of Germany, 281

DWARDS (SIR F.), on the privileges of sanctuary  
and abjuration, 97-110

## E.

Eagle in bronze, found in the Thames, 339

Egyptian bottle found in Berkshire, exhibited, 358  
remarks on, *ib.*

ELLESMERE (EARL OF), obituary notice of, 184-186

ELLIOTT (C. A.), exhibits a carnelian intaglio, 335-  
339

Ely cathedral, visit to, 175

Mr. Davis's remarks on, 238-256

library, concluding meeting of the  
Congress held in, 175

Epistomium exhibited, 269

Equestrian knight, forming a vessel, 91

EWING (W.), on carving in sir John Fastolfe's  
house, 153

## F.

Fastolfe (sir John), carving in the house of, 153  
defence of, 230-237

FFOLKES (SIR W.), on the confinement of queen  
Isabella in Castle Rising castle, 152

FITCH (R.), on Caister camp, 123-129

on Norwich castle, 65-69

his collection of antiquities, 176

exhibits Celtic antiquities from Suffolk,  
268

part of a mould representing  
the murder of the innocents, found in Norwich,  
270, 271

matrix of a seal found at Here-  
ford, 272

a Roman intaglio found in Suf-  
folk, 339

Fleet ditch, glazed jug found in, 95

FORMAN (W. H.), exhibits a Roman epistomium,  
269; Mr. Cuming's remarks on, 269, 270

exhibits German key of the 15th  
sæc., 273

a beautiful Saxon gold  
fibula, 276

spurs and stirrups of the  
15th and 16th sæcs., 317

curious Roman key, 352

an enamelled asp, 358

## G.

Galway, a slate implement found in, 335

Gilded tiptilia, remarks on, 357

Gammad rings exhibited, 346

Girdle-knives, on the sheaths of, 359

Glastonbury thorn in blossom at Christmas, exhib-  
ited, 269

Gold ring of the 15th sæc. exhibited, 342

with matrix exhibited, *ib.*

GOULD (N.), exhibits various Asiatic weapons, 291

a Tahitian adze, 342

GRAY (JOHN), exhibits a cavalier's medal, 346

GUNSTON (THOS.), exhibits Roman and mediæval  
keys, 272, 273

a finely engraved sword, 277

a landing sword, *ib.*

from 141, 281

a dagger and ball found in  
the Thames, 291

a slate implement, 335

a medallion of St. Charles, 290

GURNEY (MISS ANNA), obituary notice of, 187-189

## H.

HALFORD (REV. THOS.), obituary notice of, 186, 187  
HAMMOND (C. E.), exhibits purse with jettons, found  
at St. Mary, Newmarket, 271

sends drawing of an early Eng-  
lish piscina discovered at St. Mary's, Newmarket,  
272

HARROD (H.), on the Norwich cathedral records, 87

HAWKINS (W.), exhibits an illustration of the vision  
of Henry I, 346

Henry I, illustration of the vision of, exhibited, *ib.*

Hereford, matrix of a seal found at, 272

HORMAN-FISHER (R.), exhibits an axe-blade found  
at Winchester, 292

Horse-shoe, mediæval, from Leicestershire, exhib-  
ited, 276

Horse-shoes, remarks on, by Mr. H. Syer Cuming,  
273-275

Hubert de Burgh and his son John, Mr. Planché  
on the seals of, 272-281

HUSENBETH (REV. F. C.), on sacramental fonts in  
Norfolk, 51-56

on an amulet of St. Bene-  
dict, 279, 280

## I.

Intaglios in carnelian exhibited, 335, 339

Irish antiquities, notice respecting, 96

IRVING (G. VERE), on Norfolk earthworks and an-  
cient fortifications, 193-215, 305-310

on the Iters of Richard of Ciren-  
cester, 275

exhibits ollæ, etc., from Ciss-  
bury, 351

## J.

James I, Britain crown of, exhibited, 352

JOHNSON (GODDARD), extracts from the Norwich  
corporation records, 164-175

## K.

KENDRICK (JAS.), exhibits a mediæval vessel, 91

various antiquities found

in Lancashire, 268, 269

Kent, pretended discoveries of British remains in,  
94, 95

Roman intaglio found in, 95

KERR (MRS.), exhibits Roman antiquities from the  
Jura, 280

Kett's rebellion, Mr. Pettigrew on, 94

Keys, Roman and mediæval, exhibited, 272, 273

German of the 15th sæc., exhibited, 275

Knife-handle, carved, found in Fleet ditch, 358  
Knives, Mr. Cuming's remarks on, 345

## L.

LANCASHIRE, antiquities found in, exhibited, 93, 265,  
269, 347

LEE (JOHN), exhibits a Cromwellian relic, 89  
a manuscript list of advocates

in the Court of Arches, 339, 340

LEAPARD (S.), exhibits drawings of brazen columns  
before the Exchange at Bristol, 340-1

LEUCHARS (W.), exhibits various Scottish coins, 336

LELAND, DEAN OF (rev. W. D. Conybeare), obitu-  
ary notice of, 189, 190

Lock and key, *sæc.* 15, exhibited, 288

remains on, by Mr. H. S. Cuming, *ib.*  
from Hever Castle, exhibited, 352

Lowth (Prior), oak panelling in the house of, 81

LUXMOORE (C. H.), exhibits a glazed jug found in  
Fleet ditch, 95

defeat of the Spanish armada, 281

LYNN, excursion to, 145 *et seq.*

chapel of our Lady on the Mount, *ib.*; de-  
scription of, 145-147

the grey friars at, 147

records and regalia of the corporation, re-  
marks on, 148

St. Nicholas chapel, *ib.*

St. Margaret, 149

LYNCH (C.), exhibits fragments of Roman flower  
vases, 338

## M.

MACINTYRE (J.), on the camp at Ardoch, 279

Marden, Romano-British antiquities found at, 257-  
262

Mauud money exhibited, 336

Medieval seals, forged matrices of, 342-350  
vessel in form of an equestrian knight, 91

MELLISH (P.), exhibits Roman coin found at Shad-  
well, 356

Merchant's mark exhibited, 352

seal, of the 15th *sæc.*, exhibited, 342

Mexican javelin exhibited, 345, 358

Minstrels, on representations of, in early painted  
glass, 129-131

Mirrors, remarks on, by Mr. Cuming, 287  
exhibited by Mr. Cuming, Mr. Forman,  
Mr. Solly, and Mr. Fitch, *ib.*

Monmouth, Mr. Wakeman on the chancery of, 56-60

Morocco, purse from, exhibited, 281

MUSSELL (A.), exhibits a Britain crown of James I,  
352

## N.

Norfolk, on the antiquities of, by Mr. Pettigrew, 1-29  
on sacramental founts in, by rev. Dr. Hu-  
senbeth, 51-56

on earthworks and ancient fortifications  
in, by Mr. G. Vere Irving, 193-215, 305-310

photographs of various places in, visited  
by the Association, 95

NORFOLK CONGRESS, held at Norwich. Proceed-  
ings of, 61-87, 145-176; officers and committees  
at, 61, 62; opening meeting at the Guild Hall, 63;

reception by the mayor and corporation, *ib.*; Mr.  
Pettigrew's introduction of the president, *ib.*;

the earl of Albemarle's address, 63, 64; sir John  
Boileau's welcome to the Association on the part  
of the Norfolk Archaeological Society, 64, 65; the  
treasurer's paper on the antiquities of Norfolk,  
65; examination of the castle of Norwich, *ib.*;

Mr. R. Fitch's observations on, 65-69; visit to St.  
Peter Mancroft, 69; description of, *ib.*; on its  
baptistry, *ib.*; monument to sir Thomas Browne,  
*ib.*; his portrait, *ib.*; alabaster carving at, 70;

adjournment to dinner, *ib.* Evening meeting;

sir F. Dwaris reads a paper on the privileges of  
sanctuary and abjuration, *ib.*; Mr. Pettigrew's  
remarks on the sanctuary knocker at St. Gre-  
gory, *ib.*; Mr. Harrod on the same, 71; notice  
respecting, by Blomefield, *ib.*; Mr. Planché on  
Raoul de Gael, the first earl of Norfolk, *ib.*; Mr.  
Black's remarks, *ib.*; meeting at St. Andrew's  
Hall, 72; Mr. Pettigrew's paper on the convent  
of black friars, *ib.*; examination of the remains,  
*ib.*; visit to the church of St. Andrew the Apostle,  
*ib.*; description of, *ib.*; monument of sir John  
and lady Suckling, *ib.*; brasses in, *ib.*; visit to  
Norwich cathedral, *ib.*; Mr. Burnell's notes on,  
*ib.*; examination of the cathedral, 73; visit to the  
bishop's palace, *ib.*; description of, *ib.*; the gates  
of St. Ethelbert and Erpingham, *ib.*; meaning  
of the word *yeak* on the latter, *ib.*; visits to the  
following churches,—All Saints, St. Clement the  
Martyr, St. Edmund King and Martyr, St. Ethel-  
red, St. George Colegate, 74; St. Giles, St. Gre-  
gory, St. Helen, 75; St. James, St. John the  
Baptist, 76; St. John the Baptist (Timber Hill),  
St. John's Sepulchre, St. Julian, St. Lawrence,  
St. Martin-at-Oak, 77; St. Martin-at-Palace, St.  
Mary Coslany, St. Peter of Hungate, 78; St.  
Peter Mountergate, St. Simon and St. Jude, St.  
Stephen, 79; St. Swithin, 80; remarks on, and  
description of, the churches, 74-80; Elizabethan  
building, the Strangers' Hall, 80; St. Lawrence  
Well, *ib.*; carved oak panelling at the prior  
Lowth's, 81; Appleyard's house, with remarkable  
flint work, *ib.*; stone doorway from London-street,  
now at the Guild Hall, *ib.*; excursion to Caister  
camp, *ib.*; discussion respecting, *ib.*; sir John  
Boileau's remarks, 82; examination of the founda-  
tion remains, *ib.* Evening meeting: paper by  
the rev. Dr. Husenbeth on sacramental founts in  
Norfolk, *ib.*; rev. B. Poste on the representation  
of minstrels in early painted glass, formerly in  
St. James's church, *ib.*; Mr. Black's examination  
of, and report upon, the records of the cathedral,  
82-86; Mr. Harrod's remarks on, 87; Mr. Burnell  
on the flying buttresses of the cathedral, *ib.*; ex-  
cursion to Lynn and Castle Rising, 145; visit to  
the chapel of our Lady on the Mount, *ib.*; de-  
scription of, 145-147; visit to the Grey Friars,  
147; description of, 147, 148; meeting at the  
Town Hall, 148; description of the records, re-  
galia, etc., by Mr. Swatman, Mr. Black, Mr.  
Pettigrew, *ib.*; extracts from the corporation  
records exhibited by Mr. D. Gurney, *ib.*; visit to  
St. Nicholas chapel, 148, 149; to the church of  
St. Margaret, 149, 150; remarkable brasses at,  
*ib.*; Castle Rising, 150; paper descriptive of, by  
Mr. Pettigrew, 150-152; evening meeting at Nor-  
wich, 152; Mr. Pettigrew's paper on the walls  
and gates of Norwich, *ib.*; Mr. W. Ewing on a  
carving from sir J. Fastolfe's house, 153; Mr.  
Black's report on the corporation records of  
Lynn, 153-155; Mr. Davis's report on Castle  
Rising and the church, 156; visit to Great Yar-  
mouth, Caister castle, and Burgh camp, 157;  
reception at the Town Hall of Yarmouth, by the  
mayor and corporation, *ib.*; Mr. Palmer's remarks  
upon the antiquities of Yarmouth, 157-164; visits  
to St. Nicholas, old houses on the South Quay,  
161; Mr. Palmer's house and its excellent col-  
lections, 162; the site of the Grey Friars' monas-  
tery, *ib.*; the Black Friars', 163; remains of the  
old town wall, *ib.*; the toll-house, *ib.*; the hutch  
and its contents, *ib.*; charter of king John, *ib.*;  
Caister castle, 164; paper on, by Mr. Pettigrew,  
*ib.*; examination of the remains of the church,  
*ib.*; visit to Burgh camp, *ib.*; description of, 165;  
remarks on, by sir John Boileau, Mr. Vere Ir-  
ving, sir Thos. Beever, Mr. Planché, Mr. Fitch,  
sir F. Dwaris, Mr. D. Gurney, etc., *ib.*; dinner  
at the Town Hall, 166; addresses at, by the  
mayor and others, *ib.*; conversazione at Mr. Pal-  
mer's, *ib.*; excursion to Binham and Walsingham  
prieories, and East Barsham Hall, *ib.*; visit to  
Little Snoring and Great Snoring, with descrip-  
tions of the churches, *ib.*; Binham priory, paper  
on, by Mr. Pettigrew, 166-168; examination of the

ruins, *ib.*; departure for Walsingham, *ib.*; reception at the priory by the rev. H. D. Lee Warner, *ib.*; paper descriptive, by rev. J. Lee Warner, *ib.*; examination of the ruins, and remarks on by Mr. Davis, Mr. Pettigrew, and Mr. Warner, *ib.*; visit to East Barsham Hall, *ib.*; remarks by Mr. Pettigrew, 163; evening meeting at Norwich, *ib.*; extracts from the corporation records, by Mr. Goddard Johnson, 169-175; excursion to Ely, 175; visit to, and examination of, the cathedral and the conventual buildings, *ib.*; Mr. Davis's remarks on, *ib.*; concluding meeting in the cathedral library, *ib.*; resolutions adopted at, *ib.*; observations on Mr. Fitch's collection of antiquities, 176

Norwich castle, examination of, 65

— Mr. R. Fitch's remarks on, 65-69  
— cathedral, Mr. H. H. Burnell's notes on, 44-50

— examination of, and remarks upon, by Mr. Burnell, 73

— the gate of St. Ethelbert, *ib.*  
— Eppingham gate, *ib.*

— Mr. Black's report on the cathedral records, 82-86

— Mr. Harrod's remarks on, 87  
— remarks respecting the flying

— buttresses of, *ib.*  
— churches, examination and description of, 69, 75-80

— corporation records, extracts from, by Mr. Goddard Johnson, 169-175  
— walls and gates of, paper by Mr. Pettigrew

on, 215-222

— mould of the 12th sec. found at, 270

## O.

OLIVER (L.), exhibits photographs of various places in Norfolk, 95

## P.

Paalstab and flint arrow-heads discovered at Bosio, 89

PALMER (DR.), exhibits an Egyptian bottle found in Berkshire, 358

PAYNE (J. H.), exhibits a portion of the Glastonbury thorn in blossom at Christmas, 269

PETTIGREW (T. J.), speech on introducing the president at the Norfolk Congress, 62

— on the sanctuary knocker of St. Gregory, 70

— on Kett's rebellion, 94

— on Castle Rising castle, 150-152

— on Caister castle, 223-237

— on Burgh camp, 165

— on Binham priory, 166-168

— on Barsham hall, 169

— obituary notices by, for 1857,

182-192

— on the antiquities of Norfolk,

1-29

— on the convent of Black Friars

at Norwich, 110-123

— on the walls and gates of Nor-

wich, 215-222

— on the antiquities of Cuma, 293-

305

— notes on the seals of endowed

grammar schools, 311-326

— on the reputed vision of Henry

I, 331-334

— (W. V.), exhibits mediæval horse-shoe

from Leicestershire, 276

PRIDGON (H. C.), exhibits antiquities from Chili, 352

PLANCHE (J. R.), on Raoul de Gael, the first earl of

Norfolk, 30-43

— the seals of Hubert de Burgh

and his son John, 282-284

— erroneous inscription in Win-

chester cathedral, 284-287

POSTE (REV. B.), on representations of minstrels in early painted glass, 139-141

— on Romano-British antiquities

found at Marden, in Kent, 257-262

— remarks on, by Mr. H. Syer Cum-  
ing, 289-291

PRINCE (MRS.), exhibits a poodstab found in York-

shire, 346

PURSES, history of, by Mr. H. Syer Cum-  
ing, 141-144

— various examples exhibited by Mr. Cum-  
ing, Mr. Lynch, Mr. Pretty, Mr. Hammond, Mr. Gun-

ston, Mrs. Hill, and Mrs. Fitch, 271

## R.

Raoul de Gael, Mr. Planché on, 20-43

REPTON (J. A.), remarks on the strawberry-leaf as an ornament in architecture, 341

Richard of Cirencester, paper by Mr. Vere Irving on the Iters of, 275

RICHARDSON (C.), exhibits a knife-handle, carved, 358

Rochester cathedral, representation of a chancellor's seal-bag on a monument in, 343, 344

Roman antiquities from the Jura exhibited, 280

— coins found at Felixstowe, exhibited by Miss

Westmacott, 271

— flower vase found in Southwark, 337

— key exhibited, 352

— lead coffin found at Shadwell, 355

RUTLAND (DUKE OF), obituary notice of, 182-184

## S.

SADD (R.), exhibits Celtic spear-head found at Cambridge, 351

St. Andrew the Apostle, description of, 72

— brasses in, *ib.*

— monument to sir John and

lady Suckling, *ib.*

St. Andrew's Hall, examination of, 72

— Mr. Pettigrew's paper on, read, *ib.*

St. Benedict, amulet of, exhibited, 272

— remarks on, by rev. Dr. Husenbeth

and rev. R. E. Grey, 279, 280

St. Claude, a brass medalet of, exhibited, 339

St. Gregory, Mr. Pettigrew's remarks on the sanc-

tuary knocker, at, 70

— Mr. Harrod on the same, *ib.*

— Blomefield's notice of, *ib.*

St. Lawrence well, account of, 80

St. Peter Mancroft, baptistery and font at, 69

— monument of sir Thos. Browne

in, *ib.*; his portrait, *ib.*

— alabaster carving, at, *ib.*

Sanctuary and abjuration, on the privileges of, 97-

110

Saxon gold fibula, exhibited, 276

SCOTT (REV. E. D.), obituary notice of, 192

Scottish coins exhibited, 336

Seals, forged matrices of ancient ones, paper on, by

Mr. Cum-  
ing, 353-355

— three curious exhibited, 337

Shadwell, Roman coffin found at, 355-357

Shakespeare (Peter), deed witnessed by, 90

SHEPPARD (P. B.), on discoveries in an ancient in-

terment at Bathwick, 336

SMITH (E.), exhibits antiquities from Lancashire

and Cheshire, 347

Snoring (Great) church, visit to, 166

— (Little) church, visit to, *ib.*

Southwark, coins, etc., found at, 336

Spanish armada, medal struck upon the defeat of, 281

Spindles, ancient, on, 341

Spur rowel in iron, temp. Richard II, exhibited, 279

Spurs and stirrups of the 15th and 16th centuries

exhibited, 347

Stirrups of the 16th sec. exhibited, *ib.*

Strangers' Hall, Norwich, description of, 80

Strawberry-leaf as an architectural ornament, 341

Suffolk, Roman intaglio found in, 339

Sword, elaborately engraved, exhibited, 277

— of the time of William III, exhibited, 281

## T.

- Taheitan adze exhibited, 342  
 Thames, Celtic weapons found in, 328-330  
 ——— dagger and ball found in, 291  
 THURLOW (LORD), obituary notice of, 186  
 Tobacco-box, carved, exhibited, 346  
 TRAPPES (REV. F.), on decade rings, 271, 272  
 TURNER (JOHN), exhibits coins, etc., found in South-  
 wark, 336

## W.

- WAKEMAN (T.), on the chancery of Monmouth, 56-60  
 ——— exhibits an amulet of St. Benedict,  
 272; explanation of, 279, 280  
 Walsingham priory, visit to, 166; reception by Mr.  
 Warner, *ib.*  
 ——— examination of, and remarks, *ib.*  
 Weapons from Asia and South Africa exhibited, 276  
 WESTMACOTT (MISS), exhibits Roman coins found  
 in Suffolk, 271  
 WHISTON (REV. R.), on a chancellor's seal-bag in  
 Rochester cathedral, 343, 344  
 WILLS (T.), exhibits a Roman intaglio found in  
 Kent, 95  
 ——— a bronze eagle found in the  
 Thames, 339

- WILLS (T.), exhibits a merchant's seal of the 15th  
 s<sup>æc.</sup>, 342  
 ——— lock and key from Hever  
 castle, 352  
 Winchester cathedral, on an erroneous inscription  
 in, 284-287  
 WOOD (S.), exhibits weapons from Asia and South  
 Africa, 276  
 WRIGHT (G. R.), exhibits coins found in the Cri-  
 mea, 268  
 ——— specimens of Maundy  
 money, 336

## Y.

- Yarmouth (Great), visit to, 157; reception by the  
 mayor and corporation, *ib.*  
 ——— examination of the antiquities of,  
 157-164  
 ——— Mr. Palmer's observations on, *ib.*  
 ——— conversazione at, 166  
 Yorkshire, palstap found in, 346

## Z.

- ZANZI (A.), communicates discoveries at Bosio, 89

## LIST OF PLATES.

1. Upper part of the choir of Norwich cathedral, 20
2. The choir of ditto, 21
3. Seal and counterseal of the chancery of Mon-  
 mouth, 57
4. Ditto, Abergavenny, *ib.*
5. Plan of the convent of Black Friars, Norwich, 121
6. Thomas à Becket's chapel, Norwich, 123
7. Minstrels on early painted glass, 130
8. Gipeiere beams, 134
9. Ancient purses, 138
10. Purse of the time of Elizabeth, 140
11. Plan of Castle Acre, 205
12. ——— walls and gates of Norwich in 1500, 222
13. Romano-British antiquities found at Marden,  
 in Kent, 256
14. Aglets and aglet-hole piercers, 263
15. Mould found at Norwich, representing the mur-  
 der of the innocents, 12th s<sup>æc.</sup>; early Eng-  
 lish piscina, discovered at St. Mary, New-  
 market; seal found at Hereford; caltrop  
 found at Oberstein, 271
16. Seals and counterseals of Hubert de Burgh, 282
17. Antiquities found at Cuma, 297
18. Waxen head exhumed at Cuma, 298
19. }  
 20. } Seals of endowed grammar schools in England  
 21. } and Wales, 311
22. }  
 23. } Celtic and Roman remains found at Batter-  
 24. } sea, 326
25. Representation of the reputed vision of Henry I,  
 333
26. Roman flower vase; Roman lead coffin found  
 at Shadwell; and Roman bronze key, 337
27. Columns in front of the Exchange at Bris-  
 tol, 340

## WOODCUTS.

- Plan of earthworks of Norwich Castle, by Wilkins, 12  
 Ditto, by Harrod, 13  
 Nabulum, 130  
 Gipeiere from Kent, 136  
 Arms of St. Albans abbey, 166  
 Almas bag in Rochester cathedral,









GETTY CENTER LIBRARY



3 3125 00098 8986

